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IN
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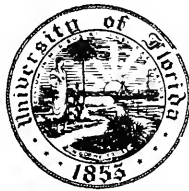
1941

*Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of
Stanford University*

EDITED BY
HARDIN CRAIG

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIFORNIA
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

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The following miscellany of literary and linguistic scholarship has been issued by the School of Letters of Stanford University in honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the University, under the direction of the following committee:

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The contributors are members of the faculty of the School of Letters, former members of the faculty, graduate students, and former graduate students.

Correspondence should be addressed to
Stanford Studies in Language and Literature
HARDIN CRAIG, Editor
Stanford University, California

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THE GROWTH OF THE HISTORICAL SPIRIT

ALBERT GUÉRARD

Stanford University

In this brief meditation, the Historical Spirit will be used merely as an example. My purpose is to defend the discussion of ideas as a method in the study of literature; indeed as the central and essential method, to which all others lead, and from which all proceed. If scholarship is to be more than a loose accumulation of unrelated facts, if criticism is to be more than uncontrolled ejaculations of delight or disgust, we are compelled to compare and classify the data of our experience. We can not understand except by taking thought. I am stating this truism unblushingly, for, in application, it has the tang of paradox. Much of our research is but an arduous flight from the necessity of thinking.

The same condition—the commanding importance of thought, and the constant effort to elude its harsh obligations—prevails in other fields: religion, politics, economics. Indeed it prevails to a much more intense degree. *Wir Philologen* are ready merely to bore and to be bored, and at most to squabble; others are eager, not only to labor, but to die, in the defense of an idea—creed, race, nation, régime. The enthusiastic acceptance of sacrifice, and the correlative willingness to sacrifice others, are dominant traits in human nature. It is the altar alone that makes the sacrifice noble or brutal. Men, however, find it easier to die than to reflect; blind heroism often is the refuge of mental cowardice. A man should refuse to suffer even for the most hallowed ideal, unless he be sure that such an ideal is more than an empty word. In so far as we are things and animals, we are the slaves of *facts*; in our capacity as human beings, we are under the governance of *meanings*. Semantics and humanism are one.

This governance may be corrupt or ineptly exercised. Stuart Chase deserves our gratitude for denouncing the “Tyranny of Words.” It took him a hundred thousand words to do it, and his chief service toward our liberation was the coining of an apt phrase. Guns have to be met with guns, doctrines with doctrines, words with words.

The great lesson of Stuart Chase’s book is that tyranny is the result of looseness: there is no liberty but in the realm of accurate definitions.

Looseness has two aspects. The most familiar is inconsistency within, all the way from mere vagueness to chaos absolute. The second is inconsistency with the rest of the world. A taut homogeneous thought may be termed "loose" if it is not properly connected with other thoughts. It has inner coherence, yet it is an anarchical element, like a bit of pure iron in an article of food. The crude, the one-sided, the fanatical, must be called loose no less than the flabby, the capricious, the chaotic. The remedy against the tyranny of looseness is intellectual discipline. The study of any subject, and pre-eminently the study of literature, has for its method and for its end a series of correlated definitions.

Words and phrases like "genres," "classicism," "romanticism," "art for art's sake," and the subject of this enquiry, "the historical spirit," have played havoc with our critical thought because of their looseness, within and without. When Blake, Wordsworth, and Scott are bracketed together as exponents of "Romanticism," when builders of fake Gothic ruins are credited with "the historical spirit," and the same gift is denied Voltaire, the first of modern historians, we feel we are entering the crazy realm of "Things as they ain't." So the Tempter would have us discard all such phrases as vain. He insinuates that they have contributed literally nothing to the creation or to the enjoyment of literature. If criticism and teaching were to cease, this dusty mythology of abstractions would vanish also.

It is sobering to think how little the world would grieve over such a loss. It is comforting, on the other hand, to reflect that philosophers and pure scientists are exactly in the same plight as ourselves. There would be languages even if there were no grammarians, art without critics, *mores* without ethics, action without metaphysics. One ray of hope: there would be engineering without the higher mathematics, physics and chemistry, but it would be of a crude sort. Perhaps this holds true in our case also; perhaps we are raising, by imperceptible stages, the general level of awareness; perhaps, thanks to our labors, the great writers of the past have become more searching and more profound than they ever knew. But whether we entertain such a faith, or frankly admit that we are parasites (more courteously, luxuries), our trade is to *discuss* literature, and this we can not do without thought and without words. Every organized branch of knowledge is a consistent language; criticism also should have its grammar.

In arriving at such a system of thought and expression, we have to make use of three approaches, adopting each in turn as it suits our purpose, abandoning it when it diverges from the goal. The first is the pragmatic: first catch your literature. We must start from the facts

of the case. Fact-gathering, however, will not suffice. Irrelevant facts are worthless, and the relevancy of facts depends upon a conception of values which transcends empiricism. But how can we arrive at a criterion of value? If we give freest play to the critical spirit, shall we not drift on the aimless flood of pyrrhonism? Pyrrhonism unchecked is self-devouring; doubt dissolves everything, even systematic doubt. If on the contrary we affirm principles which must not be challenged, are we not committing ourselves to an absolutism or a dogmatism of the strictest kind? Learned and subtle as the expression of such a theology may be, it is a denial of free thought, and thought sickens in a cage. The Empiricists and the Pyrrhonians offer examples of looseness in the primary sense: a chance heap of facts or thoughts. The Absolutists are loose in the second sense. They have neat little spheres of dogma, definite and organized. But these many spheres float, and at times collide, in an enormous mass of thoughts and facts which they ignore.

The haughtiest theorists are secretly aware of this looseness, and cover up the admission, even from their own eyes, with a quip. Irving Babbitt said that a critic should wear "an armor of elastic steel"—a mere verbal evasion. A later and even more determined Authoritarian, when challenged, professed to be "an Absolutist . . . well, relatively," an excellent bit of humor, but hardly a safe doctrinal position.

Solvitur ambulando; to blend methods at the same moment and on the same plane is a sure recipe for confusion; to use them in succession, each correcting and enriching the other, might well be our salvation. An ill-defined interest attracts our attention to certain facts, or a chance juxtaposition of facts rouses in us an interest, still inchoate. We attempt to focus, to sharpen, to define that interest; but we know that our definition is only provisional. Yet, within its range, the definition will bring more facts into clearer light. Upon this working hypothesis, we now train our critical batteries, mustering all the facts at our command. The hypothesis may collapse utterly; it may break down, but in its very failure suggest the possibility of a stronger one; it may resist every assault. But even in that case, it will not stand unaltered; some of its original elements are bound to crumble; and new supports will be added, that were not thought of at the beginning. At every moment, there is some confusion and conflict; but at every moment also, there is a guiding principle; at no time are doubts brutally silenced; at no time are facts wilfully denied. There is *living order*; the whole thing is not a status but a process. The pattern of thought, undecipherable or absurd in a single still picture, exists in motion, *in time*, and is revealed by the study of time, which is history.

This is—in vague adumbration as yet—that historical spirit which seems to be the condition of modern thought: the category of *becoming*. And naturally, we are led to consider it historically; not as an unchangeable verity, but as itself a growth. Our ancestors never were entirely without a sense of the past. Few men have sincerely believed that, *in terms of human experience*, time is a delusion; and the disenchanted “Plus ça change, plus c’est la même chose” of Ecclesiastes was a wilful paradox. On the other hand, the anti-historical mind is with us still. Even now, it would clutch “the eternal verities”—eternal! the direct negation of time and history. To reconcile manifest change with the changeless pattern that it posits, the anti-historical mind still harbors the concept of “eternal cycles”: growth and decay within one revolution of the time-wheel, but with an inexorable recurrence of the same delusive change.

So the history of the historical spirit does not follow a single, well-defined line. The historical spirit assumes many forms and suffers many defeats. If we question our own minds, we shall find that our historical spirit is extremely uneven. Our various thoughts move each in its own tempo. We may be static in religion, dynamic in politics, as Gladstone and Bryan were; we may welcome change in one art and resist it in another; we may be revolutionary in matters of prosody, and conservative on points of syntax. And especially we are apt to scorn our neighbor because his rate of motion is faster or more sluggish than ours. He is antiquated if he clings to the values of yesterday; he is uncultured if he ignores the values of the day before.

The study of the historical spirit is therefore exceedingly complex; hardly more complex however than that of the Romantic movement, for example. Like Romanticism, the Historical Spirit may be all things to all men; like Romanticism, it pervades the ages (Satan has been called the first Romantic; he might also be said to have inaugurated history); but, like Romanticism, it reaches full consciousness in certain periods only. That is why, in our discussions at Stanford, we limit ourselves to the last three centuries of its growth. We begin with what Paul Hazard has called “*La Crise de la Conscience Européenne*,” a revolution in thought which required some forty years, with 1688 as the central point.

Before that time, there were human events, and their chronicling, and a sense of the past; yet the whole attitude was predominantly anti-historical. For the medieval mind, the world was much as it had ever been, even in details of costumes and manners; only it was growing steadily worse. On the practical plane, evil was conceived as departure

from custom. Charters did not register the conquest of new liberties; they made ancient rights more explicit, so that they might be better preserved. On the spiritual plane, the essential truths were eternal, and committed to the keeping of the eternal Church; our earthly life was but a brief prologue to eternity.

The Renaissance and the Reformation, rebellions against medievalism, were themselves anti-historical. The only change of which they were aware they called decadence: mankind had erred and strayed from the eternal paths of classic wisdom and the Christian revelation. The ideal of the sixteenth century was to blot out time, and revert to the Augustan age and the era of the Apostles. There was a secret dynamism even in that hankering for fixity; and other forces were at work, manifest in Rabelais, and much later in Bacon; but the prevailing cast of thought was averse to change;¹ the only change admitted as legitimate was the return to an unchangeable law.

The modern historical spirit was born of religious controversy. The Protestants sought to prove that Catholicism had departed from primitive Christianity; the Catholics, that Protestantism was at variance with what had been believed at all times, everywhere, by all men. The masterpiece in that line of argument is Bossuet's *Variations*: the Protestant Churches have fluctuated with time; therefore they can not be in possession of the truth, which is timeless.² Each party sought to fasten upon the other the stigma of historical development, and to a large extent, both were successful; but, in the process, both had to appeal to history.

The historico-theological issue was already clear in Spinoza's *Treatise*. The forcible suppression of Protestantism in France did not stifle the dispute; it had the effect of substituting free thought for Calvinism as the chief opponent of orthodoxy. The *Historical Dictionary* of the emancipated Huguenot Bayle was to be the chief arsenal of the Voltairians. For the great historians of the Enlightenment, Voltaire himself, Hume, Gibbon, history was a war machine against abuses, preju-

¹ Then gin I thinke on that which Nature sayd
Of that same time when no more *Change* shall be,
But stedfast rest of all things firmly stayd
Upon the pillours of Eternity,
That is contrayr to Mutabilitie.

Edmund Spenser.

² It is curious to note how completely Newman, two centuries and a half later, reversed Bossuet's position. Protestantism he condemned as un-historical, because it had remained arrested in the Apostolic revelation; the Catholic Church, on the contrary, is the living and growing instrument of a progressive revelation.

dices, and superstitions. The past, far from being holy in their eyes, appeared as a mass of ignorance and cruelty. The blind and often ferocious defense of tradition was in Voltaire's mind "l'infâme," which must be crushed if the humane spirit is to live.

The Romantic reaction has dealt harshly with the Enlightenment. To be aware of past evils is not necessarily "unhistorical." A motorist finds dark glasses more effective than rosy ones. Logically enough, the apparent pessimism of Voltaire and Gibbon was but the obverse of a deeper optimism. They believed, with Rabelais, that mankind was at last "out of Gothic night." They were progressivists, and Condorcet was their disciple. So were, alas! the innumerable Philistines who, in the nineteenth century, sang hymns to progress; but the progressivism of the masters was sober; they knew how slow, painful, precarious human advance had been in the past; they did not anticipate the sudden coming of a new heaven and a new earth.³

Parallel with the Enlightenment, and in certain cases within the Enlightenment, there grew an antagonistic force: Primitivism, the cult of the unconscious, a rebellion against the intellectual discipline which is the essence of civilization. This force, of its very nature, was obscure and Protean. We find it already in Vico, that Melchisedec among historical thinkers, without ancestry and without progeny. For Vico, those myths which Voltaire would have denounced as delusions or lies were the spontaneous expression of a people's soul, the vital element in all poetry, deeper than formal truth. We easily recognize the trend which, half a century later and quite independently, was expressed by Herder, and which informs Wolff's *Prolegomena*. Homer was no longer considered as an "artful" poet, applying or creating the "rules" of the epic; the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were but the crystallization of folklore. A deliberately manufactured epic, like *La Henriade* and even the *Aeneid*, is bound to be lifeless in comparison; conscious tricks are no substitute for the unspoiled glow of enthusiasm and faith. A modern man can be a true poet only by rejecting the slow conquests of civilization, and by being a primitive at heart, in direct touch with the timeless.⁴

³ The same issue—progressivism vs. tradition—was fought indecisively on the cultural field, with the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns. The champions were half-hearted on both sides, and the modernists were second-raters; so the controversy proved abortive. It was to reappear, a century later, with the attacks of the Romanticists against Greco-Roman tyranny: "Qui nous délivrera des Grecs et des Romains?"

⁴ The Primitivism of Rousseau was far less historical than that of Herder, although there is a definite connection between the two. Rousseau is still a *philosophe* in his belief that man would be happy if he were free from superstitions; only he considers civilization and progress as the most noxious of superstitions.

Both schools, Rationalistic Progressivism and anti-rational Primitivism, sinned against the historical spirit when they failed to note that reason, that is to say awareness, is itself a growth. Voltaire took it for granted that men living in remote ages were as cunning as himself, and that the origin of myths and superstitions is to be found in deliberate fraud: Mohammed was but an unscrupulous Voltairian. The Primitivists, on the other hand, spoke as though eighteenth-century minds were no sharper tools than the brains of the old Stone Age.

For the Primitivists, thought was not a conquest but a blight; as soon as men knew what they were doing, they were bound to go wrong. Against awareness and planning, the Primitivists extolled with Burke the "wisdom of prejudice." This was of course less a philosophy than a rationalization of the conservative bias. The status quo which could no longer be upheld as an eternal verity was defended as the inevitable result of organic growth. A written constitution is valid, although unnecessary, in so far as it embodies precedent; it is futile and dangerous when it appeals to reason. To such minds, Jefferson is hardly less of a scandal than Tom Paine. Joseph de Maistre staked his reputation as a prophet on his denial that the proposed city of Washington would ever come into being; for a city must grow from obscure beginnings, and can not be founded by a definite act of human will.

A third element developed in the eighteenth century. The period was restless and adventurous, not satisfied with the smooth perfection of its setting and the luminous clarity of its thought. Reason, common sense, commonplace, are all too often interchangeable. So the Age of Reason deliberately sought the strange in many domains: in a curious revival of mysteries as well as in scientific discovery, in the exploration of space and time, the exotic and the long ago. The quest for the picturesque was one of the manifestations of this craving. The sophisticates gave up the conscious architecture of formal gardens; they returned to wild nature by building fake waterfalls and artificial crags; in the same spirit, they erected pagodas and Gothic ruins; in the same spirit again, they wrote "Gothick novels" and forged medieval or primitive poems: the rebellion against the humdrum led to a carnival of make-believe.

This love of the "Romantic" in the early sense of the term gradually lost its most glaring absurdities. It was purified into the art of Scott, in which "romance" was tempered and heightened by a large admixture of shrewd realism. The romancers, in their turn, begat the Romantic historians, who sought accuracy, but for whom drama and color were the supreme object of research and the warrant of truth. Voltaire was

then voted no historian at all, for he saw the dull suffering of the people rather than the gay pennons and resplendent armors of the knights. It can easily be seen how this flamboyant aspect of the "historical spirit" would blend with primitivism, anti-intellectualism, and the conservatism of Burke. Together, they formed an admirable defense against the Revolution.

This is an aspect of the problem which historians of literature, for generations, have rather over-emphasized. Picturesqueness never was the chief element, either in Romantic poetry or in Romantic history. But, however superficial, it is not to be neglected. It affected art, politics, and most of all religion. If we had ritualism, Coronation pageants, a Hohenzollern Empire; if we have Gothic railway stations for London commuters, gloomy medieval cells for twentieth century students, medieval shrines for modernist preachers, it is because Dr. Syntax, after many others, started on his momentous tour in search of the picturesque.

The nineteenth century had become, in several different ways, historically minded; but there were two domains which had not yet been fully conquered: philosophy and science. Philosophy deals with the permanent; the Progressivists were philosophers in so far as they sought to free "eternal" reason from the shackles of tradition; the conservatives appealed to the eternal truths of revelation or to the unchangeable facts of human nature. Even among the Romanticists, many still refused to recognize the validity of change and the ineluctable power of time. It was Hegel who operated what may be termed the historical revolution in philosophy, by substituting a dynamic logic for the static logic of the Aristotelians. Instead of rejecting contradiction as the sign of the absurd, Hegel made it the fundamental method of his thought. With stiff and mechanical steps, but irresistibly, his dialectics proceeded through thesis and antithesis to synthesis, itself a new link in the endless chain. Such a philosophy of conflict and motion was profoundly romantic; born of the Romantic age, it was darkly heralded by Blake, the purest of the Romanticists; and ultimately it would lead to Bergsonism which, quite consciously, is Romanticism undefiled.

The last victory, and perhaps the most fruitful, was in the field of science. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the archetypal discipline was mathematics, which dwells in the eternal. The scientist par excellence was Newton. Even metaphysics and theology would yield primacy to Celestial Mechanics: "Where is God in your system?—Sire, I need no such hypothesis." But already with Buffon in his

Epochs, with Lamarck, with Cuvier and his Paleontology, the natural sciences were assuming leadership; and they did so in the form of historical sciences. This tendency came to a head with Lyell's geology; and again with Lyell, as with Bossuet, Bayle, and Voltaire, we find religious controversy at the bottom of the historical problem, "the age of rocks vs. the Rock of Ages," the slow unfolding of time as a challenge to an unchanging revelation. This dramatic new force is connected in our minds with Darwin, Wallace, Spencer. But the doctrine of evolution is simply the historical spirit; natural science was the last, not the first, of human disciplines to follow its guidance. Ernest Renan definitely said that, a mere layman in these matters, he was inclined to accept the Darwinian hypothesis, simply because it was in line with the ruling principles of European thought for the last fifty years.

We need hardly point out that the natural sciences, grown historical, reacted in their turn upon philosophy, politics, history, and literature. They colored the conservatism of Taine as well as the "naturalism" of Zola; they provided Brunetière with a metaphor ("L'Evolution des Genres") which he mistook for a scientific law. The heirs of Burke saw their belief in unconscious, infinitesimal growth confirmed; the rejection of "Catastrophism" by the geologists was a telling argument against the radicals, and an apology for the slow broadening from precedent to precedent, Fabian tactics, the inevitability of gradualness. The Communists themselves, combining Hegel and Darwin, offered their social philosophy not as an absolute, not as a static ideal, but as an interpretation of history.

These indications, so rough as to be positively rude, are not meant to be even a hasty survey of the problem. Their purpose is to formulate two propositions, two working hypotheses, which it would take a long treatise to establish or disprove.

The first is that the growth of the historical spirit may be likened, not to a melody, but to a fugue. The same theme—the reality of change—is picked up by various instruments and in various keys. At times, theological controversy is the leader; then philosophy, then art, then history proper, philosophy again, art once more, the natural sciences. The development of that essential thought ignores all departmental fences. A Romantic historian like Carlyle is the heir of the romancers like Scott and of German philosophy, not the successor of rationalistic historians like Gibbon. The "Naturalism" of Zola was shaped by Claude Bernard and indirectly by Darwin, far more than by the novelistic tradition of Lesage, Marivaux, Prévost. A history of

scientific thought that should ignore philosophy and literature would be as full of gaps as a history of literature in purely literary terms.

The second proposition is that, of all the manifestations of the historical spirit, the most obvious are also the most superficial. The mere picturesqueness of certain Romanticists—historians as well as romancers, dramatists or painters—belongs to the masked ball or the carnival rather than to sober science. The invincible attachment to the past, which the Tory mind identifies with the historical spirit, is in effect anti-historical, for the defense of “the good old ways” denies the irresistible action of time. Unless men, like blinded horses, are doomed to tread forever in the same circle, it is literally impossible for them to “walk in their fathers’ footsteps.” We can not even admit as a certainty that the historical spirit implies the notion of gradualness. The theories of Lyell and Darwin are not permanent; they take their place in the historical process; they evolve. They were but the geological and biological transcription of Victorian anti-radicalism. De Vries has restored the notion of new departures under the name of mutations; catastrophes must have occurred in geological history, and we know too well that they occur in human history. Perhaps the most profitable lesson of such a study is not to emphasize the flow of time, which few would dare to deny, but the extreme unevenness of that flow. The heavens are an immense chronometer; but the story of mankind is not predictable in terms of the clock.

ODIUM PHILOLOGICUM, OR, A CENTURY OF PROGRESS IN ENGLISH PHILOLOGY

ARTHUR G. KENNEDY

Stanford University

Just at the beginning of the present century Dr. Ewald Flügel, Professor of English Philology at Stanford University and at the time also president of the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, gave as his annual presidential address a survey of English philology from the earliest times down to the end of the nineteenth century.¹ I think it not inappropriate that I attempt to add something to that survey by calling attention at this later time to some of the outstanding problems and accomplishments of English philological study during a recent century of its history. It would, of course, be impossible to touch upon all the interesting and important developments in the limited space at my disposal; but it may be that I can throw some additional light upon the more significant trends in the progress of philological study during this period of its greatest activity. For convenience in presenting it, I have selected a period from 1834 to 1934; and my reasons for selecting these dates will become apparent in the course of my discussion.

Inasmuch as this survey begins with conditions of philological research and publication that prevailed early in the nineteenth century, it has seemed well to follow a common practice of that time and use a twofold title. Many are familiar, no doubt, with those philological double-headers that graced the bookstore windows of a hundred years ago, such as John Horne Tooke's *Epea Pteroenta; The Diversions of Purley*, or James Harris's *Hermes, or, A Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Universal Grammar*, or Archibald Campbell's *Lexiphanes: A Dialogue Imitated from Lucian*—titles which catch the learned man with their Greek and Latin, and in the secondary titles add enough of the vernacular to reassure the common reader.

My primary title, *Odium Philologicum*, I have taken from an editorial that appeared in the *New York Nation* of November 13, 1873, just at the close of one of those red-blooded, two-fisted, philological arguments such as our ancestors were privileged to witness when men

¹ Published in the *Flügel Memorial Volume*, pp. 9-35. Leland Stanford Junior University Publications. University Series. 1916.

were men and English philology was still in its untrammelled and sturdy youth; and my secondary title I have borrowed largely from the name of the Chicago exposition which was held at the end of the century that I have marked off for consideration.

In the course of prolonged and interested bibliographical researches it has become my conviction that while the study of English philology has grown stronger and more virile, the philologist himself has slowly deteriorated, until nowadays it is scarcely possible to arouse his fighting ardor to the point where he will offer a truly exciting spectacle to a public rendered dull and lethargic by a steady diet of doctoral dissertations and cold facts. Even as late as 1873 it was still possible for the editor of the New York *Nation* to say:

Whenever we see a gentleman, no matter how great his accomplishments or sweet his temper, announcing that he is about to write articles or deliver lectures on "Words and Their Uses," or on the "English of Everyday Life," or on "Familiar Faults of Conversation," or "Newspaper English," or any cognate theme, we feel all but certain that we shall soon see him engaged in an encounter with another laborer in the same field, in which all dignity will be laid aside, and in which, figuratively speaking, clothes, hair, and features will suffer terribly, and out of which, unless he is very lucky, he will issue with the gravest imputations resting on his character in every relation of life.²

But even as early as 1873 there must have been a sad diminution of that wild and western two-gun spirit which had earlier prevailed on the philological frontiers, if the above-quoted editor was right in characterizing eminent philologists as "men of dainty language, and soft manners, and lofty aims." I shall endeavor to show, however, that the old fighting spirit, with its frontier manners and fearless vocabulary, was not altogether cultivated out of existence even as late as the end of the 19th century.

Just a little more than a century ago, in England, a good stiff battle was raging, smoke and fumes ascending from the *Gentleman's Magazine* at almost every issue. The quarrel was between the Anglo-Saxonists of Oxford and Cambridge, in the first place; it was between the Old School and the New, in the second place; and in the third place, it was between the patriotic philological Tories and those radical scholarly Whigs who had become contaminated by the "upstart" philological science of Denmark and Germany. The initial blast was set off by young John Mitchell Kemble, a scion of the famous family of actors, who had been studying at Göttingen with Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm just three years before our century of progress begins.

² *Nation* (N.Y.), XVII, 318.

Before we turn on the loud speaker, however, to listen to some of young Mr. Kemble's rather caustic remarks concerning the state of Anglo-Saxon scholarship in the year 1834, it is but just that we note a few of the outstanding accomplishments of English philology during the half-century immediately preceding Mr. Kemble's outbreak.

In 1784 Noah Webster had published the second part of his *Grammatical Institute*, "containing a plain and comprehensive grammar, grounded on the true principles and axioms of the language," a contribution to American education which was to sell by the millions of copies during the succeeding half-century. In 1791 John Walker, the philologist, published his famous *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary*. In 1795 Lindley Murray's *English Grammar* appeared at York, in England. "A very conservative estimate of the total number of Murray's grammars, including his own and his followers', before 1850, is 200 editions, totaling between 1,500,000 and 2,000,000 copies," says Lyman in his *English Grammar in American Schools before 1850* (p. 80). In 1815 the Danish scholar, Thorkelin, published the first edition of *Beowulf*, and in the same year the Reverend Henry J. Todd began to issue his four-volume edition of Samuel Johnson's dictionary. In 1818 Charles Richardson, at one time tutor of the boy, John M. Kemble, began to bring out in the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana* his *New Dictionary of the English Language*, which eventually filled 12 volumes and was not completed until 1837. In 1823 appeared Joseph Bosworth's *Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, which was, as Henry Bradley has stated in his biographical sketch of the author, "the earliest work of its kind in the English language." In 1826, J. J. Conybeare's *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* was published posthumously by his brother. Two years later, in 1828, Noah Webster's monumental *American Dictionary* was published in New York. In 1830 Benjamin Thorpe translated into English the Danish grammar of Anglo-Saxon which Rasmus K. Rask had first published in Denmark some thirteen years earlier. And, finally, in 1834, appeared the *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, designed by Thorpe "as a first book for students." It was this book by an elderly Saxonist that was reviewed with so much fire and fireworks by his younger colleague, John M. Kemble.

In this year 1834 James Ingram, one-time Rawlinson Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford, was 60 years of age and long retired from his professorship. Benjamin Thorpe, Kemble's friend, was 52 years old, and Joseph Bosworth was 45. Jacob Grimm, now at the University of Göttingen, was 49 years of age, and his brother Wilhelm, 48. Of the two younger scholars who were to have a notable part in the promoting

of Early English studies, John M. Kemble was 27 years old, and Thomas Wright was 24. Rasmus K. Rask had died two years before.

And now for the first whiff of *odium philologicum*. Mr. Thorpe, says our robust reviewer, is a scholar "whose services already done to Saxon Literature, by his translation of Rask's Grammar, and his admirable edition of Caedmon, are well known to all who desire to see a strict and philological method prevail, where little but the most incompetent ignorance has hitherto been witnessed." "It will certainly be to all times," the reviewer continues, "a difficult problem to determine how, when year after year so many persons have been taking up this pursuit, when one of our Universities actually possesses a Professorship expressly meant for its encouragement, so little should at this moment have resulted from the efforts made."³

To us who look back over a century of rather intense effort on the part of many enthusiastic students of Anglo-Saxon and Middle English, the accomplishments of those relatively few scholars who had taught and published before the fateful year 1834 do seem very slight; but to those contemporaries who had been laboring to establish the subject and arouse interest in it, such a wholesale condemnation by a young and arrogant upstart must have been very galling. "Had it not been for the industry of Danes and Germans, and those who drew from the well-heads of their learning," continues the reviewer, "we might still be where we were, with idle texts, idle grammars, idle dictionaries, and the consequences of all these—idle and ignorant scholars."

Of the Saxonists of his own day and earlier the reviewer goes on to say:

Most have begun by editing books which they could not hope to understand; and though some may have succeeded during the progress of their work in picking up a little of the grammar, the great majority certainly have not. We could mention, were we so inclined, Doctors, yea, Professors of Anglo-Saxon, whose doings in the way of false concords, false etymology, and ignorance of declension, conjugation and syntax, would, if perpetrated by a boy in the second form of a public school, have richly merited and been duly repaid by a liberal application of ferula or direr birch.⁴

This was too much for the elderly Rawlinson Professor, James Ingram, who immediately sat down and penned a note to the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine* to the effect that he proposed to reply later, turning the criticisms of this "mere tyro" back upon the young critic himself. But for some reason Ingram's letter of refutation did not appear; and

³ *Gentleman's Mag.*, N.S. I, 391.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 392.

so, in the September issue, young Thomas Wright took up the cudgels, informing the editor,

Your feelings [are] too alive to the real worth of Old England, to be carried away by the fine-spun theories of a few German Literati, who, in divinity, philosophy, and even in philology, have winged their flight so far into the higher, or rather into the lower regions, as not only to enter into palpable darkness themselves, but by their mysticism have decoyed a few inexperienced workers. We have no longer Anglo-Saxon, but German-Saxon. Some of our half-educated countrymen, after spending a few months on the Continent, return surcharged not only with gloomy ideas on divinity, but even upon philology.⁵

After replying to one or two of Kemble's criticisms of Manning's edition of Lye's *Dictionarium Saxonico- et Gothico-Latinum*, published back in 1772, and after inquiring "what has become of my old acquaintance Bosworth and his long-promised Anglo-Saxon Dictionary?", Wright continues, "But I have done with your Critic, who is so dependent upon the leading strings of Danes and Germans, that he ventures not a step without them." He then opens fire on Kemble's edition of Beowulf, published in the previous year.

In the October number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* a correspondent who signs himself M.N. replies to J.I. and T.W. as follows:

I confess that I cannot understand exactly the grounds on which they found so querulous and indeed peevish an attack, nor can I see the object at which they aim. The first letter promised us a complete vindication of the unerring accuracy of the old school of Saxon scholars, and in addition to that an undeniable proof of the ignorance of the writer of the article alluded to: the second correspondent, as far as I can judge, seems to have done much less towards proving the aforesaid writer's ignorance, than towards exhibiting his own. It is not by such violent and injudicious proceedings that learning is likely to be benefitted. The same experience which has shown to me the feebleness and unsafeness of the writers, in whom your correspondents glory as guides [i.e., Somner, Lye, Benson, Sharon Turner, Conybeare, Bosworth, Price, Cardale, Fox, and Ingram], has proved to me that the *Analecta* of Mr. Thorpe is an admirable book, and, "meagre" as those correspondents may think the glossary, because it does not seem to them to cover much paper, I am inclined to think that, if either of them were properly acquainted with it, they would know more Anglo-Saxon than to abuse either that book or Mr. Kemble's Beowulf.⁶

The writer ends with a plea:

Let them examine candidly this "German" system, as they call it, let them make themselves acquainted with it, and if they find it is false, then let them expose it openly, and show its defects. If it be unsound it will not long stand the test. But I am certain that no good can come of people laughing at what they will not labour a little first to understand.⁶

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 259

⁶ *Ibid.*, 362.

In the same number, one who signs as B., presumably Joseph Bosworth, attempts to pour oil upon the troubled waters, and ends with this interesting and suggestive paragraph:

With a revival of our Anglo-Saxon studies, I hope to see a moving in our early English authors. A very early, if not the first English poet and satirist, Peirs Plouhman, deserves the first attention. The able hand that gave us an ample specimen of his powers in your No. for April last, could not be better employed than in an edition of this interesting poet.⁷

In the issues of November and December a new voice is heard, that of K.N., who appears to be Sir Frederic Madden, editor (in 1847) of the only complete edition of Layamon's *Brut* ever published. After expressing a hope that competent scholars would gradually make available the numerous texts of early English literature which were lying unpublished in private and public libraries of England, he goes on to say:

But it is rather unfortunate, that, almost at the outset of this attempt to render your publication a receptacle for such information, a controversy should have arisen between the Old and Modern schools of Saxonists (if I may be allowed the terms), which, from the temper displayed on both sides, promises only "a war of words;" amusing indeed, but profitless to those who look quietly on the disputants. It cannot but provoke a smile to mark the cause so pending between *Trin. Coll. Cam.* and *Trin. Coll. Oxon.*, or to take the odds between a Saxon Professor *in esse* and a Saxon Professor *in posse*. I confess I have but little cause to be partial to Mr. Kemble—yet my own study and reading in Saxon literature convince me that he is in the right, and that the Old School of Saxonists, from the time of Hickes to Bosworth, did not study the language on those sound principles of grammar and analogy, which have recently been pointed out to us by the Northern philologists.⁸

In the December issue, also, a letter is printed from Mr. Kemble, just returned from abroad, in which he says of the Oxford professors of Anglo-Saxon:

Before I left England in the month of August, I read a letter in your Magazine, threatening me with a critique, in which all my pretensions to scholarship were to be annihilated, and the character of the University of Oxford, supposed to be attacked in some remarks of mine, was to be vindicated by the downfall of an arrogant assailant. As I never look for much proficiency in these matters from Oxford men, I confess this *gasconade* gave me very little concern; I was content that your correspondents should rail now, in the hope that they might hereafter learn. In fact I looked upon the whole proceeding as no more than one bubble of the effervescence produced by the installation of their new Chancellor, and I thought that at least as much indignation was aimed against the Cambridge man and the Whig, as against the inaccurate scholar. Though my opinion upon

⁷ *Gentleman's Mag.*, N.S. I, 364.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 483.

this point remains unaltered, yet having read the remarks which were thus announced, paraded, and introduced with a flourish of drums and trumpets, I find them to be written in a spirit of such bitterness, and to be so filled with envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, that I have relinquished the intention which I had at first, of treating your correspondent with a good-natured but entire disregard. He has struck too hard at me not to receive a lesson which I trust shall teach him for the future to be a little more cautious with whom he meddles. The opinion which I entertain of himself will be made pretty apparent in the course of these remarks; it is however of somewhat greater importance to reduce the ignorant respect which is paid to the school of which he has officiously constituted himself the champion, to its proper measure. I hope to put it upon the same footing at home, as it occupies abroad. Its foundations are neither wide nor deep; and I feel very curious to see whether a vigorous shake will not bring the clumsy edifice to the ground.⁹

But this very confident letter did not immediately and for all time settle the matter, for in the January issue of the magazine the editor is addressed again, this time in a letter headed "Trinity College Oxford," and signed by J.I., presumably James Ingram. It is concerned chiefly with some manuscripts at the Ashmolean Museum, but in a postscript the elderly scholar "takes this opportunity of disclaiming all participation in such unseemly warfare," and asks why it should be assumed that the quarrel is one of the two Trinity colleges. And, finally, in the February issue, Thomas Wright has the last word, apparently, and a bitter and personal one it is.

I have presented in some detail this vitriolic quarrel of a century ago because it is not easy for any of us who stand now at the end of this hundred years of philological advancement to appreciate fully the situation at that distant time. So much water has run past our philological mill that it is hard to realize how new and untried that mill was into whose hoppers those pioneers were beginning to pour their little grists of Early English texts and textbooks.

However, the wheels began to revolve more rapidly from this time on, and a steadily improving product could be observed.

It is interesting to note the different ways by which scholars in different countries were gradually coming together into a more modern form of philological research; in Denmark and Germany, the earlier interest of the nineteenth century was broadly antiquarian, and from their interest in earlier national and legal history, folklore, etc., Rask and the brothers Grimm gradually developed a more definitely linguistic study; in England, as we have observed, the chief trend was in the direction of making more readily available the numerous Anglo-Saxon and

⁹ *Ibid.*, 601.

Middle English texts that still lay untouched in the libraries of England, although the general antiquarian interest was still much in evidence, as can be observed in the activities of the Society of Antiquaries (founded 1770), the Commissioners on the Public Records (1802), the Surtees Society (1837), the Camden Society (1838), the Chetham Society (1844), and the British Archaeological Society (1845).

But in America, since the beginning of the century, philological interest had been strongly developing in the lexicographical part of the field, and it was in this connection that our greatest outburst of *odium philologicum* sent up a reek of epithets and counter-charges which clouded the scholarly horizon for many a day. This was the Webster-Worcester controversy. It is not my intention to stir up again the dead embers that now lie forgotten in the Worcester collection of Harvard Library and the Webster collection at Yale. This is matter for a doctoral dissertation, and an ambitious one, at that.

But since the controversy became almost an international one, when a London publisher whipped up the flames of battle, and since the broader policies of lexicography were involved in the discussions and criticisms scattered through the American journals and learned publications of the fourth and fifth decades of the last century, it is worth our while to survey the controversy in its salient features.

Noah Webster was an old man of some 76 years when our century of progress began in 1834. His blue-backed speller, his grammars, and various other educational writings had won for him an intellectual leadership in America such as few scholars have ever attained to. Joseph Worcester was just 50 years old, and his spurs had been won, already, by the work he had done in publishing gazetteers, histories, geographies, and dictionaries. Like Webster, he had paved the way for his own dictionaries by first revising an older English dictionary, in his case, *Johnson's English Dictionary as Improved by Todd and Abridged by Chalmers; with Walker's Pronouncing Dictionary, Combined*, an epitome, as the title indicates, of the best of earlier English lexicography. This re-edition by Worcester came out in 1828, in the same year as Webster's monumental *American Dictionary*. Just one year later, in 1829, Worcester published an abridgment of Webster's large dictionary, and it is my suspicion that the beginnings of the antagonism between the two great American lexicographers may be found in the work of that period. For only the next year, in 1830, Worcester published his first independent dictionary, a small *Comprehensive and Explanatory Dictionary* of some 400 pages, which Professor Robley Dunglison of the University of Virginia later praised as "the best port-

able pronouncing and explanatory dictionary that I have seen, and as such is deserving of very extensive circulation."^{9a}

An anonymous reviewer said in the *North American Review* of January, 1854, in the course of a discussion of the Webster-Worcester controversy:

The charge of plagiarism has never been directly made, so far as we are aware, against Mr. Worcester's larger work, the "Universal and Critical Dictionary," which was first published in 1846. Dr. Webster died in 1843. About eight years before his death, he was ill-advised enough to sanction, if not to originate, such a charge against Mr. Worcester, in reference to a smaller work, then recently published by the latter, entitled "A Comprehensive Dictionary." When required to produce his proofs, he gave a list of one hundred and twenty-one words "which *primâ facie*," he said, "would seem to have been taken from my Dictionary."¹⁰

This would indicate that the open breach had been made by Webster almost as early as 1834, and that this momentous year may have seen the beginning, also, of this other fighting on the far-flung philological front.

The act, however, that sent the smoke and fumes of battle darkening to the skies was the publication in London in the year 1849 (perhaps earlier) of a pirated edition of Worcester's larger dictionary, which had first appeared in Boston in 1846. I quote again from the anonymous review of January, 1854:

Mr. Henry G. Bohn, an English publisher who has acquired an unenviable notoriety among his brethren of the Row, has had the effrontery, after purchasing in Boston a set of the stereotype plates of Mr. J. E. Worcester's "Universal and Critical Dictionary of the English Language," to publish an edition of it in London, under the following title,—“A Universal, Critical and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language, including Scientific Terms, *compiled from the Materials of Noah Webster, LL.D.* By Joseph E. Worcester. New Edition, to which are added Walker's Key,” etc. This mendacious title-page is prefixed to a work in the preface to which, “with respect to Webster's Dictionary,” Mr. Worcester distinctly asserts that “he is not aware of having taken a single word, or the definition of a word, from that work in the preparation of this”—an assertion which has never been disproved, or even explicitly denied. Of course Mr. Bohn garbles the preface, and leaves out this important statement.¹¹

This brazen and unjust publication of Worcester's work as though it had grown out of Webster's precipitated a landslide of pamphlets and articles which would form a fairly large library in themselves. Worcester and his Boston publishers started, in 1853, with a pamphlet

^{9a} *No. Amer. Rev.*, LXIV, 190. 1847.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, LXXVIII, 249.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 248-9.

entitled "A Gross Literary Fraud Exposed; Relating to the publication of Worcester's Dictionary in London." G. & C. Merriam, Webster's publishers, countered in 1854 with "A Summary Summing of the Charges, with their refutations, in attacks upon N. Webster his Dictionaries, or his Publishers, made by J. E. Worcester S. Converse, etc."; Worcester's pamphlet was then reprinted with additions; Epes Sargent and William F. Poole took up the matter; and the quarrel raged as late as 1860, when William D. Swan, one of Worcester's publishers, published "The Critic Criticised, and Worcester Vindicated."

By this time, curiously enough, the tables had become turned, and Webster's Dictionary was no longer regarded as committed to dangerous and unwarranted innovations in spelling, pronunciation, etc., but was now considered slightly over-conservative and not sufficiently and practically up-to-date. Nevertheless, it managed to keep pace with the times and to grow with every new edition, so that in the summer of the year 1934 a new edition of the *New International Dictionary* could still arouse in the scholarly person the greatest of interest, while Worcester's largest and latest edition seems to have been that of 1889. It is interesting to note, also, that almost in the midst of this American broil, in the year 1857, Richard Chenevix Trench, Dean of Westminster, read two papers before the London Philological Society in which he took the stand that it was not the business of the lexicographer to select "the good words" for inclusion in his dictionary, but rather he should record all the words, whether good or bad, which have been employed in English writings. This was really a very decided step forward in English lexicography; for while we who have been privileged to witness the completion of the great Oxford English Dictionary take for granted the all-inclusiveness of the collection, at the time that Dean Trench addressed the Philological Society there were still numerous persons who thought that a dictionary should be prescriptive in character and not merely a repository of words, good, bad, and indifferent. Moreover, it had not been long since men like George Campbell, the author of the famous *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, had maintained that technical words were not to be regarded as part of the language and therefore were "not entitled to admission into a dictionary claiming the character of a standard."

While the Webster-Worcester controversy was still violent enough to endanger the peace of the English-speaking nations, fighting broke out in a new part of the field—this time over questions of syntactical and rhetorical usage. To a marked degree it was a quarrel between the older

purists and those who belonged to a newer school of amiable acquiescence—acquiescence in the practices of users of English as they are found in English literature and also in everyday linguistic usage. An anonymous reviewer (whom I have mistakenly assumed in my *Bibliography of Writings on the English Language* to be that George Washington Moon who entered the controversy later) expressed himself forcefully and challengingly on the subject of usage, concluding his discussion of *Modern English* in *Bentley's Quarterly Review* of 1860 with the summary assertion:

We have done. If the language goes to the dogs, it will not be for want of our feeble protest. We believe that to preserve our mother-tongue in its purity is a real duty laid upon every man who is called upon to speak or to write it. We do not at all write in the interest of any sort of archaism or affectation. We ask only for pure and straight-forward English, rejecting neither element of our mixed language, but using the words supplied by both in their meaning (p. 402).

In much the same spirit, Henry Alford, Dean of Canterbury, delivered a series of would-be-instructive addresses to a local group of young men and in 1863 published them in the popular magazine, *Good Words*, under the title, "A Plea for the Queen's English." In the same year George Washington Moon, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, replied with a pamphlet entitled "A Defense of the Queen's English . . . In reply to 'A Plea for the Queen's English' by the Dean of Canterbury." In a second article in *Good Words* the Dean replied to Moon, and in "A Second Defense . . ." Moon retorted. By this time the Dean had polished his English somewhat and had improved his ideas, and so, in 1864, he brought out his matter in book form as "The Queen's English; stray notes on speaking and spelling." And to this Moon replied by boldly renaming the third edition of his *Defense*, "The Dean's English, A Criticism on the Dean of Canterbury's Essays on the Queen's English" (1864).

As soon as the two booklets began to attract attention, reviewers began to take sides in the controversy, so that gradually the discussion assumed a national character, and ultimately became almost international. Alford brought out edition after edition, supplementing and improving his earlier remarks, the book persisting to a fifth edition in 1880, nine years after the Dean's death. Moon's book had already reached its eleventh edition in 1878. As early as 1865 American publishers brought out editions, and American reviewers took a hand in the conflict, with a less respectful and possibly less servile attitude toward the Dean than was displayed by many of his British contemporaries. William D. Whitney, professor of Sanskrit at Yale and later

editor-in-chief of the *Century Dictionary*, wrote in the *North American Review* of 1866:

We cannot wish 'The Queen's English' a continued currency unless it be understood and received by all for just what it is—a simple expression of the views and prejudices of a single educated Englishman respecting matters of language.¹²

Concerning the utterances of the other belligerent party to the fracas, the *Saturday Review* of 1863 remarked:

Mr. Moon's pamphlet, in short, was so very dull, so very snappish, and so thoroughly off the point, that we were a little surprised when the Dean took the trouble to answer it in a later number of *Good Words* It has turned into a quarrel about the accuracy of construction of Dean Alford's sentences—a subject which may easily become wearisome.¹³

But the above-cited reviewer now dragged the Scotch into the controversy, and we may suspect that the differences of opinion and the sectional feelings that more recently have appeared in British discussions of the relative merits of received Southern English and Northern English reach back at least as far as the year 1863. For the reviewer remarked of Moon's book:

We fear that Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, Kames' *Elements of Criticism*, and Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* will not find many people now-a-days to look up to them with any great reverence. It is odd that all Mr. Moon's authorities are Scotch writers, and it is to Scotch writers, especially Scotch metaphysicians, that we owe some of our worst corruptions. The colloquial Lowland Scotch is of course historically the purest English which survives; but Scotch writers, in attempting to avoid their native tongue, in trying to write what in the time of Johnson and Boswell was called "high English," have fallen into an even more Latinized jargon than ourselves.¹³

For two years the battle was waged most furiously, and quite personally, even as the outbreaks of *odium philologicum* usually reach into the homes and lives of the combatants. But in this case, the end was personal peace and amity. A writer in the *London Quarterly Review* of 1864 has summed up the battle as follows:

Like a liege subject, he [the Dean] entered the lists against the foes of his sovereign lady, and had already unhorsed some pretenders, when, lo, another knight—and no carpet knight—appeared upon the arena, and charged the dean with having been guilty of the very violations of law and good taste which he had condemned in others. The dean grew militant; and after some sharp passages of arms, hotly declared that his assailant was possessed of 'a most abnormal elongation of the auricular appendages.' But Mr. Moon was not to be slain by

¹² *No. Amer. Rev.*, CIII, 572.

¹³ *Sat. Rev.*, XVI, 247.

an epithet. He returned to the charge These doughty champions ended their feud in peace. 'From antagonism,' says the dean, 'we came to intercourse'; the dignitary invited Mr. Moon to Canterbury. . . .¹⁴

After the terrible internecine feuds of the Oxford and Cambridge Saxonists, and the bloody slaughter of the American lexicographers, it is a relief to picture the Dean peacefully meeting Mr. Moon in harmony and friendship at the railroad station in Canterbury.

But this was by no means the end of the matter. For the discussions of usage went on and on, for several decades, and the cudgels were swung in every corner of the Anglo-Saxon world most devastatingly. Perhaps I might even change my figure for the moment to involve the shillelagh, for the *Dublin Review* of October, 1864, summed up the accomplishments to date as follows:

We cannot say that the sort of personal sarcasm in which Mr. Moon indulges is exactly to our taste, though it may add piquancy to the pungency of his criticisms; but he has exposed certain literary trips on the part of his antagonist in an amusing and telling way, and put together in a smart little volume which is worth reading. We agree with him in thinking that Dr. Alford has done good service by the attention he has drawn to the slipshod style of composition so much in vogue.¹⁵

But having had a taste of scholarly blood, Mr. George Washington Moon was no longer to be satisfied by friendly visits at the home of the Dean. And so he began to range afield more widely. In "The Bad English of Lindley Murray and Other Writers on the English Language" (1868) he attacked, besides Murray, two Americans who had recently published books on the English language, George P. Marsh, widely known for his popular *Lectures on the English Language* (1860) and his *Origin and History of the English Language* (1862), and Edward S. Gould, author of *Good English* (New York, 1867).

I will not attempt to portray in all its deadliness Moon's descent upon the unwary Americans, but will give the words of a few reviewers who sat in the grandstand, as it were. Said one in the New York *Nation* of October 18, 1866:

But Mr. Moon provokes criticism. He is so merciless that he seems not to deserve mercy and not to expect it. His victory over the Dean has so elated him that he invites attacks by everybody. In this first appearance before American readers Mr. Moon is certainly off his guard. Perhaps his carelessness is due to the fact that he is writing for Americans, of whose ability to speak or write the English correctly he has, at times, been hardly able to conceal his doubts.¹⁶

¹⁴ *London Quart. Rev.*, XXII, 431-2.

¹⁵ *Dublin Rev.*, XXXV, 507.

¹⁶ *Nation* (N.Y.), III, 314.

A week later another reviewer wrote to the *Nation*:

I am glad to see some of your correspondents after Mr. Moon. He did well enough for Alford, who knew even less than himself, but after all he was never anything but green cheese, in whom conceit is naturally breeding maggots. I have not seen his article in the *Round Table*, but the notion of his undertaking to joust with a doughty old champion like Marsh is very amusing.¹⁷

Another reviewer, however, had been more fortunate and had seen the combat in the *Round Table*, which he described as follows:

We must not leave our young gentleman without calling attention to the tremendous nature of the combat which he and Mr. E. S. Gould recently carried on in the *Round Table*. It was not unlike one of those manly contests in the prize-ring in which each gentleman, as he "gets in" or tries to get in, on his antagonist, suggests to him that he is a liar, that his mother's failings did not lean to virtue's side, that his father stretched hemp, and so on. Both champions are at present quiet, and as friends of virtue and as persons delicate about manners,—to say nothing of a capacity we have for being bored,—we sincerely hope they may both remain so.¹⁸

Apparently they did "remain so."

But their armor did not hang rusting on the wall, and their contentions did not remain unchallenged. For in England, an American who had taken his degree at that once scorned citadel of philological learning, the University of Oxford, and a renegade Sanskrit warrior, moreover, Fitzedward Hall, renewed the strife by publishing in the year 1872 a book entitled *Recent Exemplifications of False Etymology*. In this little book the author attacked various recent writers of a dogmatic, puristic character, notably that famous American, Richard Grant White. Of this attack a reviewer in the New York *Nation* of May 15, 1873, presumably William Dwight Whitney, wrote, in general approvingly. He said in part:

Mr. Hall passes unnoticed, or with only a word or two of condemnation, some of those who have most moved our ire—as Alford and his antagonist Moon, Blackley, and Gould. He expends a few trenchant introductory pages on Landor and Coleridge, DeQuincey and the London *Athenaeum*. But his chief exemplar of false etymology is Mr. Richard Grant White, as exhibiting himself in the volume . . . entitled "Words and Their Uses."¹⁹

In 1873 Hall published *Modern English*, and with this the author started a controversy with another American, Ralph O. Williams, which ran through several issues of the *Dial*.

In 1880 Hall entitled another volume *Doctor Indoctus: Strictures on Prof. John Nichol of Glasgow, with reference to his English Composition*.

¹⁷ *Nation* (N.Y.), III, 337.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, VII, 483.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, XVI, 334.

Perhaps the key to Hall's method of combatting puristic opinions may be found best in his article published in the *Nineteenth Century* in 1880, which was called "English Rational and Irrational," and in a later article in the New York *Nation* entitled "Easy-Chair Philology."²⁰ In each attack Hall backed up his argument by adducing long lists of examples from earlier English literature, drawing upon an almost inexhaustible store of literary illustrations that he had been gathering for many years. Dogmatic pronouncements upon such matters as the cleft infinitive he cast doubt upon by quoting long and exhaustively—or exhaustingly—from his rich store of quotations.

In the *Academy* of March 25, 1893, he discussed *The American Dialect*, and perhaps it was chiefly from this time on that he was criticized by certain Americans, notably Mr. Gilbert Tucker, because he had deserted the land of his birth to take up the cudgels for British English usage.

Near the end of Hall's widespread and on the whole devastating attacks, Professor Edward E. Hale, Jr., wrote about the controversy, in the *Dial* of December 1, 1897, and I think it well to quote from this article in concluding my tale of battles and night attacks inasmuch as it preserves the martial spirit of my story:

Like the contests of Homeric heroes are the word-battles of Dr. Fitzedward Hall and Mr. R. O. Williams. Ordinary persons stand amazed as they lightly handle weapons which ten common men could hardly lift, and sustain the most brain-stunning shocks with result only of the most annihilating ripostes.²¹

The clouds of *odium philologicum* have been dissipated, and the countryside is once more peaceful and smiling. From our library shelves there beam upon us row upon row of texts and monographs and learned dissertations, and more are coming, singly and by phalanxes. In the century and more since the volume of Thorpe's *Analecta* was first placed on the library shelf, at least three dozen scholars have published Anglo-Saxon primers and readers—eight English, twelve German, fifteen American, and one French. Some of these, in order to keep abreast of new scholarship, have been reprinted and reëdited as often as 14 times. They are in themselves sufficient evidence of the increasing carefulness and thoroughness which John M. Kemble's caustic criticisms helped to bring about. Since Kemble's edition of *Beowulf* was first published, in 1833, at least a score of editors have taken turns in editing the poem, and almost innumerable translations have appeared. Since Rask's Danish grammar of Anglo-Saxon was translated into English by Benjamin Thorpe in 1830, numerous grammars and dictionaries have

²⁰ *Ibid.*, LVI, 384-5.

²¹ *Dial*, XXIII, 334.

appeared, notable among them the German work by Sievers which was later translated and published in America by Cook, and widely used and highly respected.

But most important of all, perhaps, has been the remarkable increase in printed texts of early English literature. Since the publication by the Early English Text Society of its first text in 1864, more than 300 volumes have appeared in its two series. Moreover, the promoters of the society have been active in promoting other societies which have in their turn provided remarkable collections of early texts, notably the Chaucer Society, the Scottish Text Society, the Ballad Society, the Wycliffe Society, the Spenser Society, and others.

As a result of the editing of manuscripts of Early English literature, dictionaries of Anglo-Saxon and of Middle English have been made possible, and most notable of all, the *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* has been completed, in itself a refutation of John Kemble's insinuation that nothing good could come out of Oxford, and what is more, in itself convincing testimony to the influence that Scotsmen are exerting in English letters.

Moreover, as Early English literature has been made available, hundreds of linguistic and historical and critical studies have been published, so many of them from German centers of philological scholarship that as early as 1880 the English scholar Henry Sweet protested, in writing a preface to his *Oldest English Texts*:

When I first began it, I had some hopes of myself being able to found an independent school of English philology in this country. But as time went on it became too evident that the historical study of English was being rapidly annexed by the Germans, and that English editors would have to abandon all hopes of working up their materials themselves, and resign themselves to the more humble rôle of purveyors to the swarms of young program-mongers turned out every year by the German universities, so thoroughly trained in all the mechanical details of what may be called "parasite philology" that no English dilettante can hope to compete with them—except by Germanizing himself and losing all his nationality.²²

This petulant and ill-tempered complaint sounds very much like that earlier one coming from that other Oxford man, Thomas Wright, nearly a half-century before, and was clearly unfair, considering that we have been depending so largely on the Anglo-Saxon texts of Grein and Wülker, on the history of Early English literature written by Ten Brink, on the Anglo-Saxon Grammar of Sievers, and the contributions of other German scholars like Zupitza and Brandl.

²² E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser. 83, p. v.

As to just how far the excellence of the great modern dictionaries of English is the product of the rivalry of Webster and Worcester, and how far it is the outgrowth of a dissatisfaction engendered in an active group of early members of the London Philological Society, it would be difficult to determine. Possibly the surpassing beauty and scholarliness of the Second Edition of Webster's *New International Dictionary*, published in 1934, should be credited in a large measure to the strong and continuous competition that other American dictionaries have provided ever since Worcester entered the field of lexicography. Certainly the book has thriven on competition.

When it comes to a final appraisal of the effects of the numerous and prolonged bickerings over matters of usage, one hesitates to say too decidedly that English philology and English grammatical and rhetorical usage have moved steadily and wholesomely ahead as a result of the *odium* and the *philologicum* of Alford and Moon and Marsh and Gould, of Hall and White and Williams and Tucker. Undoubtedly there has been a closer attention to the niceties of speaking and writing English, but there has also been an almost painful deference to certain arbitrary and quite unfounded rules adopted by the prescriptive grammarians. As a result of the later phase of the quarrel, the practice has arisen of proving or refuting the "correctness" of any usage by accumulating a long series of examples from earlier English literature. This practice is still very much in vogue and has the merit of weakening somewhat the convictions of the dogmatic and cocksure purist, even though it does not always convince the more intelligent historian.

AN EXTRAORDINARY EXAMPLE OF SPANISH BALLAD TRADITION IN NEW MEXICO

AURELIO M. ESPINOSA

Stanford University

Eight years ago I published a New-Mexican Spanish version of a traditional Spanish ballad that relates the extraordinary intercession of the Virgin Mary in saving a soul who had already been condemned to the fires of hell:¹

The Virgin Mary comes upon an angel who is weeping bitterly. When asked why he weeps, he replies that he is the Guardian Angel of a man whose soul has been condemned and carried away by the devil. The Virgin asks the angel to weep no more and promises to ask Christ to pardon the sins of the condemned soul. She does this, asking the special favor because the condemned man, a shepherd, has once or often recited her rosary. Christ grants the petition of his Blessed Mother, but asks her to go herself to redeem from hell the soul of the condemned man. The Virgin does this, whereupon the devil complains to Christ, saying: "Your mother has taken away from me the soul that you yourself gave me." Christ then replies: "Be gone from here, Evil One! Be gone from here, Traitor! Whatever my mother does is approved by me."²

Two years ago I published this same version and one more of the same ballad and called attention to two very similar forms from Argentina.³ I now possess sixteen different versions of this extraordinary Spanish ballad, all collected from the oral tradition of New Mexico and southern Colorado. The versions are all very similar and narrate in the traditional octosyllabic ballad metre the simple theme above out-

¹ *Hispania* XV (1932), 99. For the numerous traditional Spanish ballads from New Mexico already published, see especially *Revue Hispanique* XXXIII (1915), 446-560, XXXV, 215-27, 678-80, *Journal of American Folklore* XXIX, 519-46, *Hispania* XV, 89-102, and *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo* XIV (1932), 97-109.

² The bibliography concerning the miraculous intercession of the Virgin Mary in saving her devoted from punishment or death or in saving souls, but not souls already condemned to hell, is very abundant. For the present I will only cite Stith Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* E754.1.2, G303.16.1 and V250-281. Numerous examples are cited by Thompson from the Scala Celi, Ward, *Catalogue of Romances* and other important collections.

³ Universidad de los Andes, *Revista Bimestral* I (1938), 121-27.

lined. In most of the versions there is only one assonance throughout, accented *o*, but a few of the versions have introductory and final verses that apparently do not belong to the original, primitive and traditional versions, and in these verses we often have a change of assonance or even rhyme. When final verses are added, they are frequently an invocation to the Virgin Mary, entreating her to be merciful to the one who recites or sings the ballad as she was to the condemned soul who has recited her rosary.

In the following pages I give four of the best versions of my collection, two of them entirely new, and these are followed by three almost identical versions from Argentina recently published, and by a similar peninsular Spanish version of the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

VERSION 1

En un árbol muy frondoso — la Virgen se apareció
a un pastor, devoto suyo, — que un rosario le rezó.
Orillas de un ojo de agua — estaba un ángel llorando,
de ver que se condenaba — el alma que andaba cuidando.
Baja la Virgen, le dice: — No llores, ángel varón;
yo conseguiré con mi Hijo — que esta alma alcance el perdón.
— ¡Ay, Hijito de mi vida, — prenda de mi corazón,
por mis virginales pechos, — que esta alma alcance perdón!
— Madrecita de mi vida, — prenda de mi corazón,
¿para qué quieres esa alma, — si tanto nos ofendió?
— ¡Ay, Hijito de mi vida, — prenda de mi corazón,
pastorenado sus ovejas, — un rosario me rezó.
— Madrecita de mi vida, — prenda de mi corazón,
si tanto quieres a esa alma, — sácala del fuego ardor.
La Virgen, como piadosa, — en el fuego se arrojó;
con su santo escapulario — de las llamas lo sacó.
Sale el diablo rezongando; — se encontró con el Señor:
— El alma que tú me habías dado, — tu madre me la quitó.
— ¡Quítate de aquí, maldito! — ¡Véte pa tu fuego ardor;
que lo que mi madre hiciere — yo por bien hecho lo doy!

VERSION 2

Un ángel triste lloraba — de ver la cuenta que dió;
el alma que tenía a su cargo — el Malo se la llevó.
La Virgen le dice al ángel: — No llores, niño varón,
que yo le rogaré a Cristo — que esta alma tenga perdón.
La Virgen le dice a Cristo: — Hijo de mi corazón,
por la leche que mamastes, — esta alma tenga perdón.
Cristo le dice a la Virgen: — Madre de mi corazón,

¿para qué quieres esta alma — si tanto nos ofendió?

La Virgen le dice a Cristo: — Hijo de mi corazón,
pastoreando sus ovejas — mi rosario me rezó.

Cristo le dice a la Virgen: — Madre de mi corazón,
si tanto quieres esta alma, — sácala de fuego ardor.

La Virgen, como piadosa, — a este riesgo se metió.

Con su santo escapulario — a su devoto sacó.

El Demonio enfurecido — a los cielos se subió:

— Señor, el alma que me distes — tu madre me la quitó.

— ¡Quítate de aquí, maligno! — ¡Quítate de aquí, traidor,
que lo que mi madre hiciere — por bien hecho lo doy yo!

VERSION 3

A orillas de un pozo de agua — estaba un ángel llorando,
de ver que se condenaba — el alma que traiba a su cargo.

La Virgen le dice al ángel: — No llores, hijo varón,
que yo le rogaré a mi Hijo — esta alma tenga perdón.

La Virgen le dijo a Cristo: — Hijo de mi corazón,
por la leche que mamastes — que esta alma tenga perdón.

Cristo le dijo a la Virgen: — Madre de mi corazón,
¿para qué quieres esta alma — si tanto nos ofendió?

La Virgen le dijo a Cristo: — Hijo de mi corazón,
pastoreando sus ovejas — mi rosario me rezó.

Cristo le dijo a la Virgen: — Madre de mi corazón,
si tanto quieres esta alma, sácala de fuego ardor.

La Virgen como clemente — hasta el fuego se metió.
Con su santo escapulario — a su devoto sacó.

El Malo, como furioso, — a los cielos se subió:
— Señor, el alma que me distes — tu madre me la quitó.

— ¡Quítate de aquí, maligno, — maligno perturbador,
que lo que mi madre hizo — por bien hecho lo doy yo!

¡Dios te salve, salve salve, — y salve con compasión!

¡Que el Señor nos dé su gloria — como se la dió a María!

VERSION 4

El mejor hombre del mundo — en una cruz fué clavado;
primero en Jerusalén, — alabado y ensalzado.

El ángel se quedó llorando — de ver la cuenta que dió;
la alma que tenía a su cargo, — el Malo se la llevó.

La Virgen le dice al ángel: — No llores, niño varón,
que yo le rogaré a Cristo — que esta alma tenga perdón.

Cristo le dice a la Virgen: — Madre de mi corazón,
¿para qué quieres esta alma — si en tanto nos ofendió?

La Virgen le dice a Cristo: — Hijo de mi corazón,
pastoreando sus ovejas, — mi rosario me rezó.

Cristo le dice a la Virgen: — Madre de mi corazón,
si tanto quieres a esta alma, — sácala de fuego ardor.

La Virgen, como piadosa, — a este riesgo se metió;
con su santo escapulario — a su devoto sacó.

Santísimo Sacramento, — Hijo del eterno Padre,
da luz a mi entendimiento, — para que mi alma se salve.

Santísimo Sacramento, — yo te ofrezco este alabado
por las ánimas benditas — y las que están en pecado.
Que las saques de las penas — en que están atribuladas,
y las llesves a tu gloria, — allá donde fueron criadas.

These four versions are some of the best examples that we have of traditionally Spanish ballads from New Mexico. They are undoubtedly versions of a religious ballad brought to New Mexico in the sixteenth century. Its traditional character is proved beyond question by the almost identical versions that have been recently found in Argentina. In his monumental *Cancionero Popular de Tucumán*, Juan Alfonso Carrizo gives the following version from Tucumán:⁴

EL ÁNGEL ESTÁ MUY TRISTE

El ángel está muy triste — de ver la cuenta que ha dado,
de un alma que tuvo a cargo — que a Jesucristo ha negado.

La Virgen le dice al ángel: — No estés triste, ángel varón,
que yo le pediré a mi Hijo, — que esta alma tenga perdón.

La Virgen le dice a Cristo: — ¡Hijo de mi corazón,
por la leche que mamaste, — que esta alma alcance perdón!
Cristo le dice a la Virgen: — Madre de mi corazón,
¿qué me habrá pedido usted — que pronto no lo haga yo?

El diablo le dice a Cristo: — ¿Es posible, hombre varón,
que un alma tan pecadora — pueda alcanzar el perdón?
Y Cristo le dice al diablo: — ¡Quítate, feroz sallón!
Es pedido de mi madre — que esta alma alcance perdón.

In the same volume, pages 490–491, Carrizo cites the “Versos que cantaba Don Segundo Sombra,” of San Antonio de Areca, Argentina, in which we have also a fragmentary version of our ballad. I cite below the verses that are obviously a free version of the ballad.

Cristo le decía al alma: — Recién te acordás que hay Dios.
Todo el tiempo que has vivido — nunca has tenido temor.

La Virgen le dice a Cristo: — Hijo de mi corazón,
es pedido de tu madre — que esa alma alcance perdón.

Cristo le dice a la Virgen: — Quien me dice eso me espanta.
¿Cómo le he de perdonar, — tanto me ha ofendido esa alma?

⁴ *Cancionero popular de Tucumán* (dos tomos, Buenos Aires, 1937), Vol. I, no. 223.

El diablo le dijo a Cristo: — No le perdones, mi Dios,
 que esa alma está por mi cuenta — porque me la distes vos.
 Cristo le decía al diablo: — Salite de acá, sayón,
 que es pedido de mi madre — que esta alma alcance perdón.
 El diablo le dijo a Cristo: — No le perdones, mi Dios,
 que esa alma está por mi cuenta — porque mucho te ofendió.
 Cristo le dijo al demonio: — Salite de acá, sayón;
 déjala que se confiese; — no me la perturbes vos.

In the complete Argentina version of the ballad as well as in the fragmentary version we have not only the same theme of the New Mexican versions, but even the same assonance, accented *o*, throughout most of the verses. The New Mexico versions appear to be much more archaic and obviously more faithful to the older Spanish types.

Another fragmentary version from Argentina was published by Carrizo in his *Antiguos cantos populares argentinos* in 1926.⁵ This version, although very brief and fragmentary, is very similar to the above cited and to the New Mexican versions:

El ángel está muy triste, — según la cuenta que ha dado,
 de un alma que se ha hecho cargo, — que a Jesucristo ha negado.
 La Virgen Santa le dice: — No llores, ángel varón;
 yo le he de pedir a mi Hijo — que esa alma alcance perdón.
 La Virgen Santa le dice: — Hijo de mi corazón,
 por la leche que mamaste, — que esa alma alcance perdón.

It is of course quite noteworthy that such a beautiful religious ballad, and, as already stated, obviously traditional and old, should be absent from the numerous collections of Spanish ballads published during the first thirty years of the twentieth century from all parts of the Spanish world. Up to 1926, no versions had been published at all. We now have three versions from Argentina and I possess sixteen from New Mexico, four of which are published in this article. Surely, more versions will appear if folklorists will take the trouble to look for them. Experience shows that the folklorist finds only what he seeks. Forty-seven years ago, Charles F. Lummis, a man who knew much about New Mexico, stated that there were few ballads to be found in Spanish New Mexico, citing only a fragmentary version of one. He was probably not acquainted with the Spanish *Romancero*, and his New Mexican informers gave him only what he asked for.⁶ In my *Romancero nuevo-*

⁵ Juan Alfonso Carrizo, *Antiguos cantos populares argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1926), p. 68.

⁶ *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (New York, 1893), pp. 242-47.

mejicano of 1915 (see *Revue Hispanique*, already cited), I published twenty-seven versions of ten different traditional Spanish ballads. In 1932 I had in my possession eighty-eight versions of eighteen different ballads collected from New Mexico oral tradition. I now possess over one hundred versions of twenty different ballads. The four above published are some of the choicest gems.

The New Mexico and Argentina versions of the ballad that narrates the extraordinary theme of the soul saved from the flames of hell through the intercession of the Virgin Mary are very similar indeed. Many of their verses are identical. They are directly related and are obviously derived from a common source. We do not happen to have that common source, but we do have a literary version probably derived from it. In the *Cancionero y romancero sagrados* of Justo Sancha,⁷ page 394, we find, in the middle of a long poetic composition of the sixteenth or seventeenth century, a Prayer of the Soul (*Oración del Alma*), in which we find many verses that narrate the theme of our ballad, and some of them are almost identical or very similar to some of its verses. This peninsular Spanish version appears to be a literary form of the older ballad that must have existed in Spain in the sixteenth century. The New Mexico and Argentina versions are probably faithful versions of the primitive traditional form. I cite below only the verses that narrate our theme and that seem to be directly related with our ballad forms:

ALMA

Soberana y bella Aurora,
Virgen y Madre de Dios,
Ahora es tiempo, señora,
Que seáis mi intercesora,
Y que roguéis por mí a Dios.

Suplícoos, Virgen y Madre,
Preciosa flor de las flores,
Roguéis a vuestros amores,

Jesús, mi piadoso Padre,
que perdone mis errores;

Y que me quiera dejar
Algún tiempo limitado
Para que pueda llorar,
Gemir y penitenciar
Mi grave culpa y pecado.

LA VIRGEN

Hijo mío y mi Señor,
El ánima pecadora
Me llama con gran fervor,
Pidiéndome por mi amor
Que sea su intercesora.

Suplícoos con humildad,
Soberano Rey eterno,
Que tengáis de ella piedad
Y que vuestra Majestad
No la condene al infierno.

⁷ *Biblioteca de autores españoles* (Madrid, 1855), Vol. 35.

CRISTO

Madre, harto tiempo la dí
De vida, y no se enmendó,
Y pues de mí se apartó,
No la quiero para mí,
Pues penitencia no obró.

Mis tesoros celestiales
Quiero para los contritos
Que en servirme son leales,

Y sus bienes temporales
Parten con los pobrecitos.

La vida la dí sobrada,
Salud y bastante hacienda,
Al pobre no le dió nada,
No quiso ser adornada
De penitencia ni enmienda.

LA VIRGEN

Dulcísimo Emperador,
Pues estoy yo de por medio,
Cese ya vuestro rigor,
Y suplicoos por mi amor
Que le deis todo remedio.

Muchas veces me rezó
Mi rosario esclarecido,
Con viva fe me llamó,
Y siempre me suplicó
Que no la tenga en olvido.

Por la leche que mamaste,
Hijo, de mi casto pecho,
Por el vientre en que encarnaste,

Por la pasión que pasaste
Por nuestro bien y provecho,

Que la queráis esperar
A que lave su conciencia,
Y sane de su dolencia
Con oración y ayunar,
Con limosna y penitencia.

Y pues me manda favores,
Perdonadla, dulce Padre,
Ya sus delitos y errores;
Que yo por los pecadores
He de rogar como madre.

CRISTO

Clemente Madre, piadosa,
Pues que vos me lo rogáis,
Hágase cuanto mandáis
Que jamás os negué cosa
De cuanto me suplicáis.

Y pues siente su gran daño,
Y así lo suplica á vos,
Gimiendo su daño extraño,
Si de plazo pide un año,
Madre, yo le otorgo dos.

FAMILIAR FIGURATIVE ENGLISH EXPRESSIONS

WILLIAM HAWLEY DAVIS

Stanford University

The study of everyday figures of English speech herewith reported was prompted by a rather casual disclosure. I found highly intelligent university students aware, as I had expected, of the meaning of "hook, line, and sinker" but—to my surprise—quite mystified by "lock, stock, and barrel," "flash in the pan," and "sand on the tracks." I thereupon began, idly at first, to collect and scrutinize and classify such common expressions.

My perhaps naive initial estimate that there were as many as three hundred of them soon proved grotesquely wide of the mark. Having since reached a stage where I seldom discover a further addition to my list, I am satisfied that at least three thousand are in general use. But more startling than their abundance is the evidence they afford as to growth and change in our language, their mirroring of past experiences of our race, and the force obviously inherent in them.

As for the analysis to which many a figure of speech can be profitably submitted, I cite two instances: Take that symbol of futile personal criticism, "the pot calling the kettle black." One may search from door to door and from street to street in an American city today and find not a single black pot or kettle. Yet the force of the phrase—a force which many of our children may derive solely from its traditional context—turns upon the notion, long the actual fact, that every pot and every kettle in every kitchen is naturally black, sooty, at least on the outside. Our kitchens, kitchens in many sections of the world, have changed; the useful phrase mirrors a past condition, for many of us a vanished era.

Again, few of the figurative expressions one encounters convey as much of the ideals, the philosophy of life, prevailing when each arose as does "the seamy side." The intense significance of this expression and the iniquitous context in which it regularly appears suggests, I submit, a vile and inhuman attitude of mind—one according to which the unconventional is the unspeakable and "to preserve appearances" is to be virtuous. I fear it was Victorian.

The individual and the wider significance of everyday figures of

speech is notably clarified by assembling them in categories according to their recognizable origin in human experience. First may be presented some which obviously arise from our universal acquaintanceship with our bodies. Interestingly enough, our "temper," "temperament," "sanguine," "phlegmatic," "bilious," "melancholy," "choleric," "breast" (harboring thought), "heart," "half-hearted," "high-hearted," "bowels (of mercy)," and "gall" reflect an abandoned system of physiology, as does the term "lunatic." And with great realism we employ, figuratively, at least a page-full of terms such as "out of joint," "high-brow," "side-splitting," "hair-raising," "scatter-brain," "dextrous" and "sinister" (which mean what they do because the majority of mankind are right-handed), "spineless," "sore thumb," "cold feet," "spasmodic," "idiotic," "expire" (compare "last gasp"), "thorn in the flesh," and "*ad nauseam*."

In the realm of the caveman we find a host of expressions which attest the survival of primitive ideas and situations. There continue to be "back-scratching" and, alas, "backbiting." We today "raise a howl," and are "cornered" or "pinched" or "in a tight place" or "up against a stone wall" (rock, I take it, not masonry; compare "back to the wall"). We talk, figuratively and effectively, of a "stumbling-block," a "lick-spittle," a "stranglehold," of "bearding the lion (or some man) in his den," of "pulling his teeth," "trimming his nails," even "skinning him alive," "tanning his hide," and "stamping him (it) out." To the caveman "a bone of contention," "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," and "cutthroat competition" had specific meaning. Literally they used "far cry" and "long run" and "as the crow flies" in measuring distance; they "harked back," got a "foothold," "wielded a big stick," "slung mud," "threw stones," "left no stone unturned," "kept ear to the ground," "plucked a brand from the burning," "let sleeping dogs lie" or learned the wisdom of doing so, avoided when wise "the dirty end of the stick," caught culprits "red-handed," "cast something in somebody's teeth," "crammed something down their [rivals'] throats," "got smoothed down" or were "rubbed the wrong way," "lapped it up," "spat it out," "fought tooth and toenail," "made a stab at," "vaulted over" one sort of difficulty, "came through (some other) dry-shod," or "fell into pits of their own digging." Of two expressions which we use almost interchangeably, "come to grips with" and "go to the mat with," the first has to do with caveman situations and the second reflects the swift development of well-equipped gymnasiums during the last few decades only. And consider the caveman garment and the caveman actions hinted in our very respectable phrase, "gird up one's loins,"

and the allied and still more respectable "succinct," meaning girt ready for motion.

Spanning a great gap of time we may next contemplate an early and crude but genuine civilization through the expressions which it has either actually or virtually willed to us. "Yoke-brother," "clodhopper," "taskmaster," and "ringleader" seem to me to belong here. The "mantle of" a famous individual was something to cherish for one's own use. It became at length possible to characterize a thriftless mode of life as "from hand to mouth," a continuous supply of food as "board," and an ulterior purpose as "having something up his sleeve." There developed the expressions "get her (his) back up," "go off with his tail between his legs," "parting of the ways" (paths or roads), "under dog," "dog's life," "dog his steps," "tail wagging the dog," and "dogged," "sic him on" and "call him off," "square peg in a round hole" (greatly diminished in force since the fairly recent introduction of substitutes for pegs), "bricks without straw," "sackcloth and ashes," "run ragged," "keep his skirts clean," "fly in the ointment," "feather in his cap," "wolf at the door" and "throw to the wolves," "skinflint" (note the hyperbole!), "monkey with," "fall between two stools" (these were choice seats, not mere makeshifts), "take a back seat," "flare-up," "add fuel to the flames," "go up in smoke," "slop over," "go to pot," and "take pot luck" (which a quite imaginative modern might interpret to mean no choice among tea, coffee, and cocoa!). "Revenons à nos moutons" derives from a prevailingly pastoral period.

It is curious to note that the terms "volume" (something which revolves) and "subsequent," "above," and "below," as applied to a printed text, reflect the situation when a book was written on a continuous strip and then rolled up. The once universal custom of putting "Finis" or "The End" after the last words of a book or other piece of writing seems to reflect similarly the situation when the end of a rolled book might easily be confused with its beginning and key words ("incipit," "explicit"), quickly recognized by even an illiterate library attendant, were used to distinguish them. "Tax roll," "enroll," "call the roll," and "payroll" embalm the rolled book in our language perhaps forever.

The group of figures of speech, all in common use, deriving from folktales and ancient and modern literature would be very impressive if completely assembled and assigned to appropriate subclassifications, such as Aesop, Homer, and the Hebrew Scriptures. Of these, "bête noire" is surely very ancient and "will-o-the-wisp" very vague. Then we have "siren," "amazon," the generic "old-wives' tale," "vacant chair,"

"swan song," "pot of gold," "around Robin Hood's barn," "when Greek meets Greek," "Greeks bearing gifts," "halcyon days," "phoenix," "catpaw" and "pull the chestnuts out of the fire," "sour grapes," "ugly duckling," "goose and its golden egg," "bull in a china shop," "cock-and-bull story" (what was it?), "Hobson's choice," "family skeleton," "between the Devil and the deep sea," "deluged with," "get his goat" (first said of a racehorse with a peculiar affinity), "turn of the wheel" (Fortune's, not roulette), "dog in the manger," "last straw," "curry favor" (Faveur being a certain individual's favorite horse), "wolf in sheep's clothing," "end of the rainbow," "robbing Peter to pay Paul" (perhaps generic names and not a story), "the spider and the fly," "hector," "odyssey," "meander," "Scylla and Charybdis," "hermetically" (sealed), "titanic," "sword of Damocles," "Augean stables," "heel of Achilles," "Caesar's wife," "gorgon's head," "Procrustean," "Sisyphean," "tantalizing," "nemesis," "august," "Mars" (god and planet), "mercurial," "augur," "philistine," "catch a Tartar," "Mammon," "maudlin" (weeping Magdalene), "Mahomet . . . mountain," "Satanic," "Gargantuan," "utopian," "Roland . . . Oliver," "Quixotic" and "tilting with (at) windmills," and "Lilliputian." Apparently "kick the bucket" (referring to a certain individual's method of committing suicide) belongs here, as does also "do a Steve Brodie."

Pseudo-science lingers in many expressions—to which each new decade is adding more. Here are "lucky day" and "thank your lucky stars." One senses an old theory of soul and body in "beside himself" (with rage or sorrow). "Lick into shape" embalms an old notion of a mother bear and her young. "Salt of the earth," when duly apprehended, involves a long story of the salt industry and monopolists' propaganda. The "elements" as in "braving the elements" once definitely signified earth, air, fire, and water. Perhaps here belongs "yellow" (cowardly, contemptible, sensational), apparently an involved development of "jaundiced."

"Peter out" seems to derive from the notorious behavior of the impetuous disciple on the night of Gethsemane. "Devil take the hindmost" proceeds from a theology long abandoned by many of its traditional adherents and may come from practices in old and generally forgotten miracle plays, as "Simon-pure" derives from one forgotten but not yet two centuries old, Mrs. Centlivre's *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, and "Boniface" from Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem*. Why "Jack Robinson" should signify brevity perhaps some forgotten story would indicate, also which Alexander was "smart Alec," which "George" can be depended upon to "do it," and why it was to Dover that the dog went

"leg over leg." "Raise Cain"—reincarnate that father of confusion—is simpler. And the owner of the telltale hatband may or may not have been a particular "Dick."

Not all our sophistication and our experiments with the stratosphere prevent us from employing "high heaven" and "seventh heaven" in the old senses, also "celestial music"—which many probably associate, quite wrongly, with angels or departed spirits rather than with the system of concentric spheres which long constituted the main hypothesis of the universe. Most of us do our part toward preserving the hoary notion of a flat earth by using the expressions "ends of the earth," "off (over) the edge," "over the abyss," "down below," "jumping-off place," "four corners of [of all things!] the globe," and, that symbol of absurd craving, "the earth with a fence around it."

The degree to which the sea and its activities have been prolific of current figures of speech is surprising in view of the high proportion of landlubbers among men for lo these many years. A great deal is indicated by our common employment of "launch" and "embark" with respect to initiating something and by the fact that we use "ship" and "shipment" with reference to parcels transported by rail or by bus: ventures confined to the land could not have been unknown when these expressions were adopted, but there was particular poignancy to ventures which went seaward from the shore. To signify a welter of useless things we speak of "flotsam and jetsam," and similarly employ "derelict" and "drift" and "harbor" and "anchor" and "beacon."

From the sea come not only such general expressions as "top of the wave," "down in the trough," "high-water mark," "ebb and flow" and all the rest referring to "tide," "on the rocks," "shoal" and "shoals," and "in the doldrums" but also such special ones as "grease the ways," "shipshape" (I wish that "scholastic" or "academic" were as creditable a term!), "on deck," "aboveboard," "shove off," "put in one's oar," "rest on one's oars," "drop (weigh) anchor," "under way," "make headway," "set sail," "take up the slack," "helm," and many more.

A rival of the sea in fecundity of figures may naturally be looked for in the land. Here we have those general expressions involving "way," "road," "field," "rocky," "bedrock," "verdant," "barren," "fruit" and "fruitful," "green," "sere," "culture" and "cultivated," "accumulate," "stream," "river," "eddy," "backwater," "current" and "cross current," "flow," "icy" and "break the ice," "swamp" and "bog down" and "morass," "cave," "on the level," "plain," "plateau," "abyss" and "abysmal," "hill," "mountain" and "mole hill," "precipice," "clear" (open, unobstructed), "plough," "seed," "germinate,"

"rooted" and "taproot," "uproot" and its highbrow equivalent "eradicate" (cf. "radical" itself), "tend," "fertilize," "reap," "harvest," and "glean," and even figurative "sunshine," "fair weather," "storm," "fog," "cloud," "dawn," "morning," "day," "evening," "night," and "midnight" which the land furnishes in common with the sea.

Some of the abundant figures derived from farming have already been named; others are "breed," "rear," "geld," "butt in," "horn in," "on the fence," "give the calf more rope," "have the pig by the ear," "tarred with the same brush" (tar and pitch both being "defiling"), "hold your horses," "pulling and hauling," "gee and haw," "whole hog or none," "kid him (oneself) along," "shorn lamb," "how it stacks up," "how the cat jumps," "let down the bars," "not amount to a hill of beans," "cart before the horse," "upset the apple cart," "duck (a blow)," "water off a duck's back," and "lame duck" (usually very much in the way and destined for early destruction).

Of course our English speech has been greatly affected by the long and brilliant period of man's association with horses. These terms surprise only with respect to their variety and their number. They include items of the horse's anatomy (mane, withers, fetlocks), his principal gaits (trot, pace, canter, gallop, also prance, curvet, buck, and shy), all the prominent features of his harness (bridle, halter, bit, curb, check, reins, saddle, spurs, traces), his diseases (spavined, galled, foundered), and those other expressions which mean relatively little to people who do not know horses well: "raring to go," "bridle at," "cock his ears for," "prick up his ears," "horse sense," "feel his oats," "teammate," "wheel horses," "off" and "near," "break" (train), "hamstring," "balk," "take the bit in his teeth," and the cautions "not to look a gift horse in the mouth" and "not to swap horses while crossing a stream." Somewhere here, zoologically speaking, I should include the words "ass" and "asinine," with an expression of surprise that Anglo-Saxons should have adopted them as early and as widely as they did.

There is unquestionably a technique and there is probably a lingo of the tractor and its associate machines, and perhaps men are building a lore of the tractor and the automobile as expressive as that of the horse and the ox. Be that as it may, the great range of expressions to which horses gave rise seems likely to become unintelligible and therefore to be abandoned if our civilization continues to develop away from the horse as it has for some time been doing. To adults, "stable talk" still means something definite; what equivalent will our grandchildren employ? Surely it will not be concerned with "garage."

Domestic economy is naturally a prolific source of figures of speech,

including "housebroken," "hot water," "cold water," "wet blanket," "drop in the bucket," "won't hold water" (how very damning here!), "washed out," "iron out," "raw," "half-baked," "half a loaf," "butter side up" and "bread (sandwich?) buttered on both sides (slices?)," "sour," "ferment," "leaven," "dough" and "doughboy," "boil over," "brewing," "ladle out," "sift" and "pare," "flavor," "seething with," "keep the pot boiling," "potboiler," "potwolloper," "warmed over," "gridiron," "grilled," "cut and dried," "canned" (especially in a derogatory sense, referring to commercial canning in tin—destined to be reversed?), "heirloom" (formerly applied only to simple machines or implements), "other fish to fry," "pretty kettle of fish," that very graphic and comprehensive "neither flesh nor fowl nor good red herring," and so on. "New wine in old bottles" is to us merely Scriptural in its origin, though it was adopted from familiar experience in Palestine. A long-current method of infant-feeding seems to be reflected in "milk sop" and "a sop to." And household garment-making and tailoring give "hem," "threadbare," "attend to my knitting," "tangled skein," "button short," "knocked into a cocked hat," "bluestocking," "bombast" (cotton stuffing), "wear and tear," "worn out," "pinpricks," "pin money," "on the bias," "trim," "hand in glove," "shreds and patches," "all of a piece," "made up out of whole cloth," "square-toed," "on needles and pins," "rag" (fray the edges of?), perhaps "nip and tuck," "doll up," "silk purse . . . sow's ear," "purse strings," and "seamy side."

One group of terms, many of them ancient and yet highly intelligible, it is both surprising and humiliating to find so numerous—those relating to combat, war, and military affairs.

I begin with "slap in the face," "kick in the shins," "get it in the neck," "bring to his knees," "flat on his back," "bite the dust," "rouse his ire," "stir him up," "calm (smooth) him down," "pacify him," and "finishing blow." I forbear to cite a numerous group from pugilism.

From the Age of Chivalry (feudalism) we have not only "lord" and "lady" but also "landlord" and "landlady" (who often own no land), "challenge," "armor," "throw down the gauntlet," "win his spurs," "buckle on," "enter the lists," "seize (couch) his spear," "tilt at" and "full tilt," "overthrow," "unseat," "back on his haunches," "caparisoned," "steed," "visor," "helmet," "lance," "vent," "high horse," "velvet" and "steel" (as applied to hand or fist), "banner," "pennon," "favor," "device," "champion," "flesh his sword," "at sword's points," "up to the hilt," and "sworn enemy."

Other methods of organized fighting, ancient, medieval, and modern,

are preserved in "spear" and "spearhead," "shot his bolt" (arrow), "quiver," "draw a long bow," "target," "upshot," "fall to the ground" (arrows), "battle cry," "watch in the night," "not leave one stone upon another" and "lay waste" (note the literal meaning of each), "make passes at" (might also be magic), "breastplate," "outposts," "hoist with his own petard," "charge," "retreat," "beat a retreat," "advance," "steal a march on," "hold one's ground," "surrender (win) the day," "yield," "strategy," "victory," "besiege," "defeat," "draw," "show the white flag," "request a parley," "make a sally," "picket" and "picket line," "deadline," "skirmish" and "skirmish line," "heavy artillery," "hell for leather" (probably "literal"), "mobile forces," "rapid (slow) fire," "miners and sappers," "bulwarks," "fortify," "front line," "rear line," "rear attack," "rear guard," "scout," "sniper," "sharpshooter," "scatter your fire," "center your attack," "concentrate your forces (fire, attack)," "campaign," "left (right) wing," "reconnoiter," "flank" and "outflank," "out-general," "maneuver" and "out-maneuver," "rout," "morale," "demoralize," "sinews of war," and, by this time looking rather tawdry, "the honors of war."

Forsaking now the category of war terms, we find a powerful group of figures of speech proceeding from the pioneer conditions which so long prevailed, chiefly if not solely, in America. Each of the following becomes more graphic when thought of in its pioneer relationship: "beaten track," "earmarked," "cinch," "trail," "bark up the wrong tree," "slip his tether," "jolt," "out of the woods," "our neck of the woods," "latchstring," "stumped" and "stump the county (state)," "in the clear," "into the brush," "out in the open," "take to the (woods) tall timber," "backwoods," "in the sticks," "back of beyond," "fold your tents," "pull up stakes," "have him over a barrel," "lift himself by his own bootstraps," "die with his boots on," "bootlegger," "all bound round with a woolen string" (homespun), "homespun," "store clothes," "sourdough," "loaded for bear," "in cahoots with," "war-path," "beat around the bush," "snake in the grass," "set a backfire," "log-rolling," "rig a deadfall," "fight fire with fire," "another county heard from," "cut (no) ice" (an enterprise which did not admit of dawdling), "hang out his shingle," "mend (political) fences," "stake out a claim," "file for," "land-office business," "wild-goose chase," "shoot from the hip," "get the drop on," "get his scalp," "(ticket) scalper," "take into camp," "get on the bandwagon" (circus), "skid" and "put the skids under," "prospecting," "grubstake," and "corral" (verb). Perhaps here belong the complex figures, neither thereby explained in full, "bring home the bacon" (prize at a rural contest?) and

"the whole shooting-match." A related historical category is represented by our very common "nigger in the woodpile," a station, doubtless, on the "Underground Railway."

The relative scarcity of terms from city life attests the traditionally rural nature of the great majority of the makers of our speech. It is doubtless further significant that most of the city or "crowded-life" expressions are by no means creditable to their source. Thus: "under dog" and "waiting at the church" (each connoting a gaping populace), "just around the corner," "gutter," "soap-box (orator)," "crash the gates," "in on the ground floor," "window-dressing," "curb" (market), "right down our alley," "blind alley," "speakeasy" (whispering being advisable), "fence" (receiver of stolen goods), "patrol," "dinner pail" and "cesspool" (each no longer urban), "off (on) his beat," "silver platter," "backstairs," and "Bronx cheer." Perhaps "talking through his hat," "high-hat," and "stuffed shirt" belong here also. Somewhat surprisingly, for ordinary or average man we say "man in the street."

From newspapers come "headliner," "filler," "leader," "spread," "scarehead," and "scoop." And from books and printing come "gloss," "pi," "footnote," and "out of sorts" (lacking certain types and consequently ill-humored).

Various games, some of them almost obsolete, have affected our speech. "Hat in the ring" is reminiscent of some active sport, probably rural. "Beer and skittles" attests the once general prevalence of a type of small-tavern recreation, as does the expression, "cakes and ale." "Rub" comes from the old game of bowls, and "ten-strike" and "bowl over" and "kingpin" are from modern bowling. "Ring the bell" surely comes from the strength-testing device struck with a heavy maul, long popular and still to be seen at circuses and county fairs. "Strike twelve" may be from a similar device or from the completeness and maximum attainment represented by striking clocks. "Bait him," "worry his prey," "in his clutches," "go kiting," "start the ball rolling," "skate on thin ice," and "beat at his own game" are all widely useful, as are "checkmate," "pawn," and "cricket" and "not cricket."

Among special games, football seems to have provided very few, "go into a huddle with" being a very recent one and perhaps the most expressive of all; "side lines" may not be peculiar to it; "tackle" now inevitably suggests football but quite antedates its football connection. Footracing and track provide "start from scratch," "head start," "beat the gun," "take it in your stride," "last lap," "final spurt," "walkover," and "win in a walk." "Hurdle" of course antedates track as we know it. Baseball is well established with "play ball with," "play ball!", "play

it safe," "right off the bat," "go to bat for," "home run," "squeeze play," "make a hit" and "make a hit with," "safe hit," "get to first (base)," "safe at first," "high and wide," "foul tip," "windup," "double (triple) play," "errors," "earned runs" (whence "earned income"?), "pinch-hitter," "bunch your hits," "southpaw," "have something (curve, etc.) on the ball," "three strikes and out," "grandstand play," "innings," and "ninth-inning rally." Golf has provided fewer, among them "address the ball," "foozle," "off the fairway," "into the rough," "in the trap," "fling a divot," and "hole in one." It is incidentally curious that whereas the baseball terms which have proved useful for the most part concern skillful playing, those from golf concern the performances of the duffer.

Bicycling contributes (or has contributed) "scorching" and "take a header." The automobile, notwithstanding its wide use, has furnished very few as yet: "run in neutral," "blowout," "crank up," "out of gas," "gears won't mesh," "dirt in the carburetor," "take it in high," "step on it," and "spark plug." (However, a prudent young woman has, not a "spare" or "two spares," but "two strings to her bow.") And the radio has added "broadcast" (once a farming term merely), "interference," (also contributed by football), "fade out," "tune in," and "listen in"—hitherto (telephone) a practice to be ashamed of!

From the period of the guilds we have terms full of significance when so thought of: "masterpiece," "master stroke," "hall mark," "guild" itself, "apprentice hand," "journeyman," "workmanlike manner," and "yeoman service." From days as old come "strike fire," "tinder," "smells of the candle," "burn the candle at both ends," and "game not worth the candle." "Heap coals of fire upon his head" is pat for any sort of solid fuel, but "coals from Newcastle" signify good British bituminous coal. The era of kerosene will long be remembered by "burn the midnight oil." And electricity provides really very few: "galvanize," "shock," "electrify," "charged" and "supercharged," "high tension," "wires crossed," "insulate" (itself a figure), "short-circuit," "switch," "dynamo," and "powerhouse."

The age of machinery has provided a number, all probably particularly expressive when a high degree of novelty still attached to the devices indicated. We have "top notch," "last notch," "up a notch or two," "step it up," "tighten the screws," "stand the strain," buckle under," "underpinning," "screw loose," "off his nut," "rundown condition," "slip a cog," "make things hum," "overhead" (which I take to be what was once so continuously operating in every machine shop), "sabotage" (wooden shoe in the machinery), "monkey wrench in the machinery,"

"blow up," "get up steam," "steam roller," "under full steam," "escape valve," "lubricate," "gum the works," "shoot (give) the works," "full speed," "in reverse," and "clicks" and "doesn't click" (test of perfect adjustment).

A few picturesque expressions are traceable to the great and long-astonishing era of the steam railroad: "railroad" (verb), "single-track" (adjective), "sidetrack," "make the grade," "throttle wide open," "where to get off," "sand on the tracks," "Pullman (this or that)," and "asleep at the switch," and "streamline." The ephemeral electric cars provided "off his trolley"—perhaps soon to be forgotten.

Mathematics gives "off on a tangent" and "stretch a point." Physics is responsible for "reflect," "gravitate toward," "lever," "transparent," "refractory," "lucid," "swing of the pendulum," "in full swing," "barometer," "dynamic," "kinetic," "momentum," "airtight," "magnetic," "inflate," and "deflate." Astronomy gives "satellites" and "constellations."

From architecture come "firm foundation," "foursquare," "built on sand (rock)," "pillar of state (church)," "buttressed," "keystone," "cornerstone," "loophole," "threshold," "front (back) door," and perhaps also "dead as a door nail" (the one under the knocker).

Photography furnishes "in the picture" and "out of the picture," also "snapshot" and "close-up." Chemistry furnishes "caustic" and several other figures such as "saturation," "crystallization," "crucible," "amalgam" and "amalgamate." Mining and metallurgy give "grass roots," "spadework," "mine," "strike it rich," "cash in" (his checks), "nuggets," "pan out," "run of the mill (mine)," "work that vein," "case-hardened," "brazen," "acid test," "tried as by fire," "in flux," "dross," "alloy" and "unalloyed," "cast in that mold," "fused," and "metallic."

Law gives "red tape," "lien," "lease of life," "beyond the pale," "indictment," "before the bar of," "verdict," "term," "reprieve," "option," "fee simple," "face value," "landmark," "claim," "read the riot act" (in England, "Riot Act"), "star-chamber proceedings," "packed jury," "gibbet," "noose," "gallows," and "sign on the dotted line." Here may be mentioned "rack" and "(thumb) screw," and also "coup de grace," the pitiful display of "mercy" which at long last despatched a culprit broken on the wheel.

The least physician-minded of us employ figuratively "bitter pill," "germ," "virus," "epidemic," "probe," "doctored," "cauterize," "cathartic," "purge," "delicate operation," "major operation," "nostrum" (patent medicine), "panacea," "postmortem," and a few others. From

art come "limned" and "etched" and "sketched." From music come "keynote," "run the gamut," "soft-pedal," "music to one's ears," "harmony" and "harmonious," "symphony," "harp upon," "call the tune," "rift in the lute," "pay the fiddler," "fiddling" (especially as Nero did), "second fiddle," "pipe . . . dance," and "melody" and "choir" and, for most of us, "chorus." From bureaucracy, presumably, come "pigeon-hole," "passport," "keep tabs on," "carte blanche," "rubber stamp," and "ultimatum."

From fishing and hunting by various methods come "flop," "flounder," "dragnet," "hook, line, and sinker," "rise to the bait," "fish in troubled waters," "stalk his prey," "sniping," "pot hunter," "pot shot" (one dictated by desperate need), "in the bag," "bag this or that," "drag a red (rotten?) herring across the trail," "unleash," "snare," "lime" and "well-limed," "trapped," "kill two birds with one stone" (how very primitive!), and "one bird in the hand worth two in the bush" (perhaps still more primitive). Cock-fighting seems to have given us "stand the gaff" (spur).

Several common expressions it is difficult or impossible to classify according to origin. These include "panned him," "eat (pick a) crow," "pull a boner" (perhaps from "bonehead"), "out of whack" (from co-operative threshing with flails?), "little end of the horn," "not on your tintage," "grand bounce," "hell-bent for election," "down to brass tacks," "put on the spot" (pirates?), "galley-west," "blind-man's holiday," and "talk turkey." Yet I dare not maintain that ignorance of its origin destroys the usefulness of any one of them.

CERTAIN GENERALIZATIONS AND A FEW PRACTICAL HINTS

Certain general conclusions well within the field of this study I am led to specify. First, in order to suggest its own employment a figure must possess considerable poignancy, must "sting" a bit; that is, the experience which gives rise to it must be striking, other than commonplace. "Walking," "eggs," and "basket" have long been relatively commonplace things to experience, and are not very serviceable figuratively except as they are combined into such startling experiences as "walking on eggs" and what often happens when "having all one's eggs in one basket." The operations and the products of a hand loom, however, were once startlingly ingenious and have continued to awaken interest and admiration. They have provided us with the potent figures: "shuttle," "warp and woof," "fabric," "threadbare," "all wool and a yard wide," "all of a piece," "made up out of whole cloth," and, by contrast, "a thing of shreds and patches."

Second, a situation needs to be experienced widely and long among human beings in order to furnish a serviceable figure of speech. An exhaustive list of figures of speech which have flourished for a time and then have fallen into disuse because of the operation of the rational principle thus stated would be hard to come by. We can see examples of them, however, in connection with the automobile, which so far has provided surprisingly few figures of speech. While these contrivances were still very imperfect there developed from them powerful figures including "crank up," "gears don't mesh," "dirt in the carburetor," and "hitting on all four." These figures still possess some force, but their usefulness has been practically terminated by the phenomenally rapid advance and improvement in automobile mechanics.

Third, whereas figures deriving from widespread and poignant experiences such as bodily sensations, war, and the sea are likely to persist indefinitely, in view of the rapid advance of scientific knowledge and skill which civilization bids fair to make habitual and to accelerate we are probably destined to experience the temporary circulation of a succession of timely cycles of figures of speech, each very soon unintelligible or ineffective. Hormones, vitamins, electrons, and terms from aviation and the stratosphere may be due for early incorporation in our language as figures of speech; but they are likely to be quickly supplanted by now unknown new and glamorous equivalents.

Fourth, expressions once widely used tend to remain current long after the situations which suggested them have altered. "Back-biting" and "gird up one's loins" are instances, as are the many expressions from farm life ("horn in," "lame duck," "upset the apple cart") which persist in our definitely urban-centered present-day civilization. Some persisting expressions slough off their figurative nature entirely and become mere symbols, as have "temper" and "bilious" except among scholars, and as has "team" (literally, "offspring").

These deductions and the observations on which they are based prompt certain other generalizations which constitute a guide to the employment of figures of speech.

First, every recognizable figure of speech suggests a background or carries with it an aura peculiar to the source from which it derives. In any era this may be very vivid, as when an admirable person today is referred to as a "prince" or "a host in himself"; it may be only slightly colorful, as when one similarly admirable is described as "the cream" of this or that; or it may be extremely hazy, as when the same person is called "the salt of the earth."

Second, confusion or perplexity or inconsistency with respect to the

auras involved is a common source of ineffectiveness in figures of speech—we say the figures are mixed. Close juxtaposition of “prince” and “cream” and “salt” in a connection such as is mentioned above would be grotesque. The obvious principle is that a high degree of appropriateness should obtain between an idea and its figurative expression. In practice, except for humorous effect, an initial figure in a passage should be selected with discrimination and subsequent figures should derive from the same general source. It is generally better to refrain from using figures than to “mix” them or to develop a series of them to the point of absurdity.

Therefore, third, knowledge and awareness of the aura connected with each available figure of speech is desirable. Vividness in a figure of speech will tend to prevent employing it mistakenly.

Lastly, economy and efficiency in expression counsel the employment of appropriate figures of speech, familiar and novel alike. There are familiar figures—perhaps most notably those involving bodily sensations—which renew their force with each new generation. And there are brand-new ones available continually for bridging a gap of indifference between speaker or writer and hearer or reader. Skillful, that is, appropriate, employment of these saves words; the aura, in addition to the words of the figure itself, works for its user. Illumination and understanding flash into the hearer’s mind. More often than not, to disregard figures and to resort to drab literalness is unalloyed folly.

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE LITERARY BAROQUE IN GERMANY¹

KURT F. REINHARDT

Stanford University

The world which emerged from the turmoil of the Thirty Years' War was characterized by the central position that was occupied by the secular State and its representative, the Prince. In the following centuries the concept of the State becomes more and more abstract, divorced from the personality of the ruler: the absolutism of the Prince is followed by the absolute sovereignty of "the State." But during that period which begins with the Renaissance and ends with the French Revolution of 1789 all political power is concentrated in the person of the sovereign who is responsible to no one but himself, in accordance with the political principles of Machiavelli and the juridical maxims of Jean Bodin. "The royal throne is not the throne of a man but the throne of God himself," writes Bishop Bossuet, the most celebrated theologian in the age of Louis XIV.

The predominantly or even exclusively secular nature of the absolutistic State is indicative of the complete secularization of politics and morals, the fruit of Renaissance and Reformation. In proclaiming its autonomy the absolutistic State refused to share its power with any other agency or to recognize any law and sanction beyond or above itself, and therefore was as much opposed to a universal Empire as to a universal Church. The territorial state was the ideal state of absolutism and the "reason of state" (*ratio status*, *Staatsraison*) was its supreme law, whose exigencies fully justified alliances with "heretics" and pagans.

Furthermore, the absolutistic idea of state-omnipotence led logically to the destruction of the remnants of Feudalism and to the paralysis of parliamentary government, wherever it existed. Social divisions and class distinctions, though still conspicuous, were practically nullified by the fundamental distinction between the "sovereign ruler" and the "subject." The members of all social ranks were equally without rights

¹ This article represents an abridged version of a chapter entitled "Civilization in the Age of Absolutism and Enlightened Despotism" in the author's forthcoming book, *Germany: 2000 Years*.

as against royal omnipotence. In thus eliminating the intermediate steps of a graduated social order the absolutistic State unknowingly prepared the way for the revolutionary ideas of social equality.

State and society were no longer conceived as "organisms" as had been the case in the sociological speculation of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas, but the absolutistic State became a gigantic mechanism, a wonderfully constructed machine, reflecting the all-pervading influence of the new mechanical and mathematical sciences. It becomes the general conviction of statesmen and political philosophers alike that social and political structures can be scientifically calculated and mechanically pre-conditioned, in accordance with the laws of induction, observation, comparison, and generalization. Reason and nature join in the construction of the well-ordered police-state, in which nothing is left to chance but everything controlled and directed by the will of the "Absolute State." This state is truly totalitarian in the modern sense in that it deprives its subjects of their personal rights and liberties in order to enlist all their physical and mental faculties in the supreme effort of assuring internal prosperity and external security.

"Mercantilism" in national economy, the creation of Colbert, is absolutism in the economic sphere. The mercantilists consider a state-controlled economy an essential prerequisite for national aggrandizement. A favorable balance of trade was to fill the coffers of the mercantilist state with precious metals, while colonies were to provide both raw materials and markets. And a favorable balance of trade was created by means of steadily increasing exports of finished goods and prohibitions on the export of raw materials. The State used its military and political power to gain economic advantages, and it utilized in turn its increasing economic prestige to feed its political and national ambitions. In this process the absolutistic State and the rising middle classes were natural allies: they were both opposed to the medieval system of land tenure and agricultural economy, and the "Third Estate" was willing to sacrifice liberty and self-respect for the sake of material gain and the economic security and protection that were guaranteed by the new state paternalism. When finally, in 1789, the "Tiers état" had acquired economic strength and self-sufficiency, its members felt that the moment had come to reclaim their civic rights and to revolt against the centralized State.

Absolutistic political economy, like absolutistic political theory, is no longer inspired by religious or moral motivations but by the scientific calculations of mathematics and physics. Thus economy in the absolutistic State anticipates the essential principles of the "economic

liberalism" of Adam Smith and the French "Physiocrats" in that it makes economic self-interest the source of all values in state and society. With François Quesnay, the court physician of Louis XIV, the Physiocrats in France and Germany are convinced that economic laws are as inexorable as the laws of nature. The main function of the State is the removal of impediments that prevent nature from following its course. The best government is that which governs least.

The age of the "Absolute State" is also the age of the great culture of Baroque and Rococo, running parallel in part with such intellectual movements as the Catholic Restoration, Rationalism, Pietism, and Enlightenment. As a matter of fact Baroque culture embraces unreconciled such opposites as rationalism and irrationalism, sensuality and spirituality, cynical sophistication and mystical ecstasy, stilted artificiality and the craving for the simplicity and harmony of nature. It is a period and a style filled with paradoxical antitheses, deriving its dynamic vitality from the unceasing and ever failing endeavor to overcome these dualisms in the synthesis of a newly conquered unity of thought and culture.

As an artistic style and a specific medium of cultural forms and forces, Baroque represents the last great universal manifestation of the unity of Western civilization. It is Catholic in its essence, both in the denominational and the more general sense of the term, and its beginnings are inseparably linked with the militant and aggressive spirit of the Catholic Restoration Movement. It recognizes nevertheless its indebtedness to the cultural and artistic achievements of the Renaissance, whose individualism and whose cult of sensuous and natural beauty it adopts, rejecting however its paganism and subjecting man and nature to the dictates of a spiritually informed and divinely ruled universe. It may not be amiss, therefore, to characterize the Baroque age as a combination of certain elements of both the Gothic and the Renaissance cultures.

Baroque culture originated in Rome, and the Roman Pontiffs were the chief patrons and propagators of the new style of thinking, building, and living. The political exponents, on the other hand, of Baroque culture were the absolutistic princes and those ecclesiastical rulers who, like Richelieu, made the Church subservient to princely ambitions and the imperialistic designs of nationalistic policies. The result of this fusion of nationalism and religion was a steady weakening of ecclesiastical authority, until in the eighteenth century the Popes became mere puppets in the game of Franco-Spanish power politics. The idealism that had inspired the reforms of the Council of Trent had degenerated

to a mere formalism whose emptiness had to be artificially filled with the pathos of heroic gestures and exaggerated emotions. Political reality was endowed with an accent of pessimism and melancholy resignation.

As early as 1637 the Spanish Jesuit, Baltazar Gracian, wrote in his *Oraculo manual y arte prudencia*: "Unhappy is he who like myself has been living among men, for every one is like a wolf unto the other, if not worse, Neither wolf nor lion, nor tiger, nor basilisk are as cruel as man. . . . Whoever does not know thee, oh life, he may well esteem thee; but he whose eyes have been opened, would prefer to proceed from the cradle straightway to the coffin." Such political pessimism represents the reaction of a sensitive intellectual to the general adoption of Machiavellian principles in national and international life.

With its special liking of the spectacular, theatrical, and representational, Baroque culture expressed most adequately the world of courtly form and etiquette as it was embodied in the two foci of the age—State and Church—the former more and more encroaching upon the prerogatives of the latter.

If Rome was the birthplace of Baroque culture, the typical Baroque state was first realized in Spain and subsequently in France, where its political implications were most fully and effectively developed. Its artistic form-language was most distinctly in evidence, however, in southern Germany and Austria and, with some racial and national modifications, in the southern part of the Netherlands, in Spain, Portugal, and their colonial possessions overseas. While in France the king and his court were the center of the social culture of the Baroque age, representative of a style of life in which the solemn measures of classical antiquity and the worldly splendor of the Renaissance blended with Spanish "gravidad" and French grace and frivolity, German and Austrian Baroque was not confined to a courtly social elite but penetrated all social groups and met with an enthusiastic response among common people and peasants. This is especially true of the religious and artistic components of Baroque culture as manifested in a newly flourishing monastic life, a revival of the liturgical arts, colorful processions and pilgrimages, and a wave of mystical devotion.

In France the rule of Louis XV brought about a relaxation of the shackles of courtly conventions and marked the triumph of the more light-hearted and careless social climate of the Rococo. This final phase of Baroque culture is characterized by many symptoms of social decay, by a lack of vitality, an atmosphere and attitude which is artistically expressed in the preference for subdued and broken colors and autumnal nuances, by the virtual obliteration of all formal barriers between

architecture, sculpture, and painting, with a marked emphasis on rhythmical musicality and pictorial decorative design.

The complexity and artificiality of the culture of both Baroque and Rococo stood as barriers between nature and society. Even if at times in sentimental yearning the men and women of the age dreamed of nature as a haven of repose and an escape from the tyranny of rules and conventions, they were too much the children of their age not to value these laws and rules above everything else. The frail beauty of their culture shines forth from the pleasure castles that they erected in the countryside and whose very names suggest a secret longing for solitude, peace, and rest ("Solitude," "Sanssouci," "Eremitage," etc.); yet even in the pastoral costume and environment they remained the slaves of their unnatural conventions. They even felt impelled to impose the artificiality of their culture on the free growth of nature, subjecting trees and hedges, shrubbery and flower beds to the regularity of geometrical design and the added artistic and mechanical devices of fountains, cascades, grottoes, statues, and every sort of plastic decoration. An age that had made the cult of pleasure its final goal was in the end haunted by its own restlessness and had become unable to enjoy the fruits of its cravings. An undertone of sadness vibrates in all the manifestations of the overripe Rococo culture of European aristocracy.

The spiritual unrest of the entire Baroque age expressed itself in manifold ways but it was most intensely alive in the circles that carried forward the impulses of the Catholic Restoration and among the leaders of a spiritual revival in the Protestant sects. These religious movements were reflected in a new ascendancy of mystical theory and practice, in the foundation of new religious orders, in a philosophical renaissance, in the religious life and customs of the people, and in the symbolic language of plastic art, literature, and music.

The peculiar characteristics of the Baroque style may in part be explained by a universally felt urge for religious propaganda, for which art provided a symbolic language. In a world in which the Church had been forced to share its rule over men's minds with the secular powers, the ancient spiritual message had to be convincingly and strikingly reaffirmed by every available means. By addressing man's senses and imagination the Church tried to impress man's intellect. In Protestant northern Germany the subtle and sublime language of music served as the exclusive artistic medium, while in the Catholic South all the arts in unison engaged the entire sensuous and intellectual organism of the human being. As in the age of the Reformation the masses were once more stirred and moved by Christian impulses. In movement and

counter-movement, in attack and defense, in continuous agitation and struggle the Baroque style acquired its distinctive features. It was gratefully adopted, developed, and propagated by the Jesuits, who formed the vanguard of the Catholic Restoration, a fact that gave rise to the misnomer "Jesuit-Style," which term in its generalization by no means exhausts the rich possibilities of Baroque art and literature.

The major source of the mystical, religious, and literary components of Baroque culture was Spain, where Ste. Therese of Avila had carried out the reform of the Carmelite Order and in her autobiographical and other works had given evidence of an extraordinary understanding of human psychology and a remarkable combination of mystical contemplation, eminent will power, and good practical sense. St. John of the Cross, her collaborator in the work of monastic reform, was a mystical writer and poet of great fervor, spiritual depth, and unusual literary talents, who brought the mystical revival in Spain to its full bloom and who influenced most of the German and French mystical authors of the following centuries.

The rebirth of scholastic philosophy that had been effected in the universities of Salamanca and Coimbra in the course of the sixteenth century, soon spread to the Catholic institutions of higher learning in southern Germany and Austria. The works of the Portuguese Jesuits as well as the "Disputations on Metaphysics" of the Spanish Jesuit Suarez were adopted as standard texts in German Catholic and Protestant universities and colleges. Christopher Scheibler, professor in the University of Giessen, wrote a work on metaphysics (*Opus Metaphysicum*, 1617) which became known as the "Protestant Suarez." This happened at a time when the Jesuit Mariana's work *De rege et regis institutione*, obviously advocating tyrannicide, was causing a stormy controversy between Jesuits and Protestants.

Swinging back and forth between extremes, Baroque mentality produced strange and one-sided religious attitudes in both Catholic and Protestant countries and individuals: Jansenism and Quietism in France and Pietism in Holland and Germany. In these movements an anti-rational sentiment is conspicuous, an emotional reaction against certain rationalistic trends of the age. The most popular preachers of the seventeenth century, therefore, were those who appealed to religious feeling and imagination. Nevertheless, the people at large were relatively little affected by the hysterical exaggerations of certain types of Baroque mentality. In Germany especially the lower classes had preserved their gay naiveté, their sense of humor, their unvarnished vitality. They were unbroken in their moral and emotional life and, as in

Luther's time, responsive to the one who had learned to think their thoughts and to speak their language.

Among the famous Catholic preachers and authors in German lands was Procopius of Templin, a Capuchin monk, who wrote three volumes of spiritual songs, comparable in their mild serenity to the better known hymns of Paul Gerhardt. Most effective as a pulpit-orator and popular writer was Abraham a Santa Clara (Johann Ulrich Megerle, before he entered the Augustinian Order), the son of an innkeeper in the province of Baden. His fiery sermons, perfect specimens of the art of rhetoric, represent in their pointed, antithetical, and figurative style and in their rich imagery Baroque prose at its very best. His powerful word fanned the heroic spirit of the Austrian people in their determined resistance to the Turks and consoled them in the tribulations of the year of the plague (1679). Widely read and thoroughly enjoyed by the common people were the didactic and devotional works of Martin of Cochem, a Capuchin monk of the Moselle region, who was equally famous as author and preacher and whose *Life of Christ* (1677) served as a textual pattern for several passion-plays.

The major theme of drama and novel in the age of Baroque is at once religious and moral: it concerns the freedom of the human will to choose good or evil, heaven or hell. The struggle of the hero with the apparent arbitrariness of life and the inscrutable decrees of "Fortuna," the Roman goddess of Fate, has as its object and final goal the purification and mastery of the passions by the exercise of reason and free will.

The spiritual dynamism of the age is most poignantly alive in those dramatic works that were written by members of the Jesuit and Benedictine Orders. The authors were professors in Catholic colleges and universities and their works were among the most effective instruments of religious propaganda in the period of the Catholic Restoration. The stage assumed the function of a great moral and educative agency by means of which the spectators were to experience the wished-for synthesis between heaven and earth, nature and supernature. The intended moral effect was contrition, repentance, and ultimate conversion. While the Protestant school-drama used both the Latin and German tongues, the religious drama of the Catholics, and particularly the Jesuits, cultivated a neo-classical Latin style of great elegance and lucidity.

The sources and patterns from which the leading Jesuit dramatists derived inspiration were morality plays of the type of *Everyman*, which flourished especially in the Low Countries; the Humanistic school-theater with its revival of the classical Roman comedy of Plautus and

Terence; and the Biblical folk-plays which were frequently produced in public squares.

The most talented Jesuit playwright of the early Baroque is the Swabian, Jacob Bidermann, whose *Cenodoxus, or Doctor of Paris*, written when the author was twenty-four years of age, deals with the Faustian theme of the life, death, and judgment of a self-styled "superman." It is recorded that after the first performances several high-ranking courtiers were so deeply moved that they changed their entire mode of living, and that the actor who played the title rôle became a member of the Jesuit Order. The Catholic religious drama reached its perfection in the works of the Tyrolese Jesuit, Nicholas Avancini and the Benedictine playwright Simon Rettenbacher of the monastery of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria.

The unreal, superrational, and allegorical character of these plays necessitated revolutionary changes and innovations in the art of stagecraft, for which again the Jesuits provided guidance and inspiration. The Baroque stage of the religious orders presents an utter contrast to the homely and often uncouth performances of the wandering troupes, whose members had to be satisfied with the most primitive equipment and who enjoyed no social standing. Nothing, on the other hand, was too costly and extravagant for the princely and the monastic stage. Special consideration was given to elaborate costuming and stage setting. Artists and technicians of great reputation put their talents at the disposal of their ecclesiastical and secular employers. Complicated mechanical devices and machinery had to create the illusion of pouring rains, flying clouds, howling storms. The scene had to be set for the convenience of the incalculable whims of the gods and goddesses of the classical pantheon as well as for the visions of saints and the apparitions of angels, demons, monsters, and phantoms. Up to the middle of the seventeenth century change of scenery had been effected by movable painted prisms ("Telari-Stage"), which enclosed a well-defined and limited static space. The Baroque period introduced the wings with painted perspective, thereby giving the scene additional depth and allowing for ever changing prospects and extended horizons. The theater-architects, stage-designers, and stage-decorators exercised a noteworthy influence on the space-concepts of Baroque architecture.

The ideal goal of Baroque drama and stagecraft was in a way an anticipation of Richard Wagner's theatrical "Gesamtkunstwerk," in which all the different arts unite and fuse. The physical magnitude and the processional and representational character of the performances proved favorable for the development of the open-air theater, in which a fitting background and setting were provided by the highly formal

and decorative garden architecture or by triumphal arches, halls, temples of honor, etc., which were constructed for some particular occasion. Thus the art of the drama tended to merge with parade, procession, ballet, festival play, oratorio, and opera.

Baroque drama as cultivated outside the religious orders, and the works of such authors as Andreas Gryphius, which had grown from the religious premises of the Protestant Reformation, were either farcical slap-stick comedy or dramatization of grand historical and political events ("Haupt- und Staatsaktionen"). The comedies were frequently built around the dominant figure of the clown ("Hanswurst," "Pickelhäring") and were without literary significance. The "Haupt- und Staatsaktion" was a bombastic and blood-curdling affair, with a heroic or phantastic plot and from the linguistic point of view a medley of German, French, Italian, and Latin. Comedy and "Staatsaktion" were combined in the offerings of the touring companies or troupes, especially the "English Comedians" who, between 1585 and 1660, produced more or less crude versions of Elizabethan and Shakespearian drama at German courts and in German cities. In spite of their often primitive taste the members of these companies were professional actors and therefore capable of improving the artistic quality of theatrical performances and of enlarging the scope of the dramatic repertoire.

Typical of the German Baroque *novel* are the works of Lohenstein, Zesen, and Anton Ulrich, Duke of Brunswick. These authors have in common the antithetical structure and the rhetorical artificiality of style and composition. For Lohenstein the ideal hero is somewhat like a map or mirror of the universe; he is an instrument in the hands of an incomprehensible universal intellect, not an unknowing or passive tool, to be sure, but an active, intelligent agent who perseveres in temporal tribulations and achieves moral triumph in the ultimate mastery of the complexities of life. Zesen's *Adriatische Rosemund* has an educational, didactic, and nationalistic tendency, and his *Assenat* is a Baroque version of the Biblical story of Joseph in Egypt. This latter novel takes the form of the political "Utopia" when it attempts a moral justification of royal despotism: Joseph succeeds in his scheme of a planned economy by reducing the Egyptian population to the status of serfdom. Anton Ulrich's *Roman Octavia* depicts life as a "school of patience," in which the good are eventually rewarded, the wicked punished. The heroines are models of moral perseverance and representatives of perfect courtly decorum. The varying aspects of historical evolution reveal the essentially identical nature of man, in accordance with the natural and divine law. The Baroque striving for universality is realized by making the novel a mosaic of epistles, orations, narratives, and lyrics. The ideol-

ogy of "enlightenment" is foreshadowed by a belief in a universal moral law, residing in human nature beyond and above all dogmatic distinctions.

France was the first country to revolt against the high-sounding verbosity and grandiloquence of Baroque literature. Molière's comedies had ridiculed the stiltedness of the culture of his age, and Boileau had demanded clarity, naturalness, and simplicity as requisites of a beautiful literary style. French literature had already adopted these very principles and had achieved a somewhat too faultless and academic classical perfection in the works of Corneille and Racine. In Germany the first opposition to the exaggerations of Baroque literature likewise dates back to the seventeenth century. The taste of the middle class began to rebel against courtly bombast and to demand honesty and intelligibility of literary expression. And the opposition that came from mystico-religious quarters wanted to see the "language of the heart" reflected in the clarity, simplicity, and truthfulness of literary style. Enlightenment, Pietism, and Rococo were united in their antagonism to Baroque ostentation and pompous extravagance, although their opposition sprang from different sources. But all the anti-Baroque forces seemed crystallized in the works of Christian Gellert, who was the favorite author and the exponent of all three tendencies that characterized the period between Baroque and "Storm and Stress": rationalism, sentimentalism, and the smooth elegance of the Rococo. For Frederick the Great, Gellert was "the most sensible" of the German men of letters and Goethe, in spite of a more critical appraisal, saw in this poet's mediocre talents the bases of moral culture in Germany! In Gellert's fables and hymns we find moralism and introspection, common sense and the rational veneration of a deistically conceived Godhead, while in his novels virtue and vice are arrayed against each other in a forced and primitive chiaroscuro-technique.

The authors of both Rococo and Enlightenment were animated by the comforting conviction of living in the best and most reasonable of all possible worlds. The German literary Rococo reaches its peak in the later works of C. M. Wieland, in which the pietistic sentimentalism of his youth has given way to the mildly skeptical and partly ironical mentality of the Rococo, in which a graceful and tolerant art of living is embodied in the form of a new and refined Humanism. The high cultural acumen that is achieved by Wieland is evidenced by the broadness and flexibility of his literary taste and by the remarkable gift of empathy that enabled him to appreciate such widely divergent modes of artistic expression as those represented by Shakespeare, Goethe, and Heinrich von Kleist.

DEEDS OF VIOLENCE IN GREEK TRAGEDY

PHILIP W. HARSH

Stanford University

Few critics, ancient or modern, have failed to remark the fact that bloodshed and deeds of violence are rarely committed before the audience in Greek tragedy.¹ Various explanations of this fact have been offered, but modern scholars have found difficulty in agreeing upon any of them. One explanation assumes that the fine sensibilities of the Athenian audience would not tolerate such scenes. This view is not only a favorite one with modern scholars,² but it is also supported by various ancient evidence, especially remarks found in the scholiasts.³ There were certainly some aesthetic limitations in the ancient theater. Athenaeus (66 a) quotes Apollodorus of Athens to the effect that the ancients did not mention the word ἐγκέφαλος. Athenaeus cites Sophocles' *Trachiniae* 781 where the phrase λευκὸν μυελόν is used instead, and Euripides'

¹ In this paper, the following works are cited merely by the name of the author and the page number: Heinrich Bulle, *Untersuchungen an Griechischen Theatern*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philolog. und hist. Klasse, 33 (Munich, 1928); Roy C. Flickinger, *The Greek Theater and Its Drama*, University of Chicago Press, 1936; A. E. Haigh, *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1896; H. Kaffenberger, *Das Dreischauspielergesetz in der Griech. Trag.*, Darmstadt, 1911; K. Kiefer, *Körperlicher Schmerz und Tod auf der Attischen Bühne*, Heidelberg, Winter, 1909; A. Lesky, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Klas. Altertumsweis.*, XVII 1 (1936), columns 644-706, s.v., *Niobe*; A. C. Schlesinger, *The Gods in Greek Tragedy*, Athens, 1927; Louis Séchan, *Etudes sur la Trag. Grecque dans ses Rapports avec la Céramique*, Paris, Champion, 1926; D. C. Stuart, "The Origin of Greek Trag. in the Light of Dramatic Technique," *T.A.P.A.*, XLVII (1916), 173-204; F. G. Welcker, *Die Griech. Trag. mit Rücksicht auf den Epischen Cyclus Geord.*, 2 vols., Bonn, 1839 (*Rhein. Mus.*). Standard commentaries are cited in the same manner.

This paper was read in part at the seventy-second annual meeting of the American Philological Association, at Baltimore, Dec. 27, 1940.

² Cf. Haigh, pp. 325-27. Haigh rejects the suggestion that the costume might be too cumbersome, and he does not give much weight to the possibility that the action might seem absurd or incredible, which he considers Horace's view, citing *Ars Poet.* 182-88, the passage quoted in the text of the present article. H. W. Smyth says: "Murder in sight of the spectators in the Greek theater was forbidden by a sense of artistic propriety coöperating with, or induced by, the fact of the physical difficulties." (*Aeschylean Tragedy*, University of California Press, 1924, p. 193; cf. p. 18.) Aesthetic considerations are not lacking in Renaissance and modern theory. Cf. J. E. Spingarn, *Literary Criticism of the Renaissance*² (Columbia University Press, 1908), p. 128. Against the aesthetic explanation are many. Cf. H. Fiedler, *Die Darstellung der Katastrophe in der Griech. Trag.* (Diss. Erlangen, 1914), pp. 143-51; W. Felsch, *Quibus Artificiis Adhibitis Poetae Tragici Graeci Unitates Illas et Temporis et Loci Observaverint* (Diss. Breslau, 1906), p. 17; Kaffenberger, p. 39; Gudemann on Aristotle, *Poet.* 1452 b 12.

³ Cf. Schol. on Sophocles, *Elec.* 1404; Euripides, *Hec.* 484; Homer, *Il.* 6.58 (*Schol. Townleyana*, ed. Maass).

Troades, where Hecuba mourning over the corpse of Astyanax uses the words (1177):

ὁστέων ῥαγέντων φόνος, ἔν' αἰσχρὰ μὴ λέγω.

"Sophocles, therefore," continues Athenaeus, "must have said 'white marrow' euphemistically, while Euripides, preferring not to set before us the loathsome and unseemly too vividly, hinted at it as seemed to him good."⁴ When the corpse of Astyanax, furthermore, is brought upon the stage in the *Troades*, it is free of gore because Talthybius has stopped to bathe it in the Scamander (1150–52). Again, Astydamas the Younger in his treatment of the story of Alcmaeon, as we learn from Aristotle (*Poet.* 1453 b), had Alcmaeon kill his mother unwittingly. It is easy to believe that an audience would prefer not to view the mutilated corpse of a child or a young man slaying his own mother. Doubtless it would be a mistake entirely to eliminate aesthetic considerations with regard to the present problem.

Turning to the Romans, we find various remarks in the scholiasts,⁵ sometimes suggesting aesthetic considerations, but the most widely cited passage on the subject is the following one from the *Ars Poetica* of Horace (179–188):

Aut agitur res in scaenis aut acta refertur.
 Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
 quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus et quae
 ipse sibi tradit spectator; non tamen intus
 digna geri promes in scaenam multaque tolles
 ex oculis, quae mox narret facundia praesens:
 ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet
 aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus
 aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.
 Quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.

In this passage, however, one will note that examples of murder are joined with miraculous metamorphoses. Some interpreters find in the

⁴ Athenaeus 66 b-c (Gulick's translation).

Euripides, however, actually uses this word three times: *Cyclops* 402, *Hipp.* 1352, frag. 384 N². But the passage from the *Hippolytus* is not precisely parallel to the usages cited by Athenaeus. Athenaeus points out, however, that Philocles (frag. 5, p. 760 N²) and Aristophanes (*Ran.* 134) and others do use this word. Philocles is said to have defeated Sophocles when the *Oedipus Tyrannus* was produced, but Nauck (ad hoc) thinks that this line in Athenaeus is misquoted and that it belongs to a comedy. That the minor writers of tragedy sometimes used indecent language is suggested by a papyrus fragment of a *Medea* (?? Neophron). Cf. Milne, *Cat. of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum* (London, British Museum, 1927), no. 77 frag. 2. Whether this is from a tragedy has been doubted. Cf. Denys L. Page, *Euripides: Medea* (Oxford, 1938), p. xxxii, n. 6. Page says, ". . . definitely prove that it is not a Tragedy." This is too strong. The same doubt has been expressed concerning Sophocles, frag. 565 J-P, another indecent passage.

⁵ Cf. Porphyrio and Ps.-Acro on Horace, *A.P.* 179 (also O. Immisch, *Horazens Epistel über die Dichtkunst, Philologus*, Suppl. XXIV 3, p. 126); Servius on Vergil, *Aen.* 4. 664.

word, *odi*, an expression of revulsion against violent deeds, but this seems unwarranted in view of the frequent use of this verb in Horace to denote mere dislike.⁶ The word, *tamen*, in verse 182, furthermore, would seem to indicate that the prospective Roman dramatist, according to Horace's assumptions, desires to arouse his audience as much as possible. Horace warns against these spectacular scenes primarily, it seems, because they could not be presented convincingly upon the stage.

It is difficult to believe that a scene of ordinary murder, such as Orestes slaying Aegisthus or Hercules slaying Lycus, would disturb a Greek audience or any other audience as much as that scene in the *Bacchae* where Agave enters with the gory head of her own son in her hands (*Bac.* 1168). Most of this scene has been lost, but we are told or infer that after she regained her senses and realized that she held the head of Pentheus, she fondled it lovingly, and taking up each of the various parts of his body in her hands, she lamented over them.⁷ In the *Electra* of Euripides, again, Orestes enters carrying the head of Aegisthus (880), and Electra addresses to it a long speech of abuse (907-56). In the *Orestes*, also, the spectacle of Electra tending her mad brother (211-82) must have been a trying one to witness if it was realistically presented. In the *Rhesus*, the charioteer comes on wounded and doubtless covered with blood (cf. *Rhe.* 790-91). In Euripides' *Phaethon*, smoke is said to be coming from the body of Phaethon while it lies before the audience.⁸

Sophocles, also, is fond of such revolting details. He presents the dreadful sight of the face of Oedipus,⁹ apparently streaming with blood

⁶ Cf. F. Ruckdeschel, *Archaismen und Vulgarismen in der Sprache des Horaz* (Munich, F. Straub, 1910), p. 85. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* 1.8.4; *Epist.* 1.7.20; 1.18.89, etc. On *digna*, cf. Horace, *A.P.* 90-92; 106, 308. On the interpretation of the passage, compare Wolf Steidle, *Studien zur Ars Poetica des Horaz* (Würzburg Aumühle, K. Triltsch, 1939), pp. 99-102.

⁷ Cf. Apsines, *Rhet. Gr.* IX 590 Walz; I 322 C. Hammer. Cf. *Christus Pat.* 1256-57. For an illustration, see M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton University Press, 1939), fig. 68, p. 57.

⁸ Euripides, *Phaethon* 243-44. Cf. H. Volmer, *De Eur. Fabula Quae Φαέθων Inscritbitur Restituenda*, Münster, 1930.

Perhaps the appearance of the Eumenides might have been aesthetically objectionable. The *Vita Aeschyli* (§ 9, bracketed by Murray) states that in the presentation of the *Eumenides*, according to some, the chorus so astounded the audience that children fainted and women miscarried. But this information is of very doubtful value.

⁹ Jebb (*Oedipus Tyrannus*, p. xlviii) states that neither Corneille nor Voltaire had the courage to bring the self-blinded king on the stage. Voltaire, he continues, suggested that this spectacle might be rendered supportable by a skillful disposition of lights, by keeping Oedipus in the dim background, and by certain other devices. "Dryden dared what the others declined; but his play was soon pronounced impossible for the theatre. Scott quotes a contemporary witness to the effect that, when Dryden's *Oedipus* was revived about the year 1790, 'the audience were unable to support it to an end....'"

In Euripides' *Phoenix*, it appears (fr. 816 N²), Phoenix came before the audience after being blinded.

after he has blinded himself (*O.T.* 1295–1306), although the actual blinding is accomplished within as the blinding of Polymestor in the *Hecuba* (1035) and, to cite a satyr play, the blinding of Polyphemus in the *Cyclops* (663). Again, Hercules dwells upon his tortured agonies in the *Trachiniae* and shows his wasted body and suffers convulsions of pain (1046–1102). This passage is quoted at length by Cicero (*Tusc.* 2.20–22) in order to show that even Hercules was broken by pain, although Cicero, strangely enough, condenses and omits some of the most dreadful lines (*Trach.* 1080–89), as if expurgating them. Cicero proceeds to quote from Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound* Prometheus' description of the vulture tearing his vitals. Later Cicero (*Tusc.* 2.48–9) quotes a speech of the wounded Ulysses from the *Niptra* of Pacuvius, adding: "Pacuvius is better here than Sophocles; for in Sophocles, Ulysses moans over his wound in an excessively tearful manner." Even in Pacuvius, as the quotations of Cicero indicate, Ulysses is obviously suffering excruciating pain. Last of all, we cannot forget the heel of Philoctetes with its pus and blood and stench.¹⁰ It is true that there are no scenes of horror in Greek tragedy like the final scene of Seneca's *Medea*, but still, it does not seem likely that an audience accustomed to scenes such as those just reviewed could have had any aesthetic objections to witnessing scenes of ordinary slaying. The aesthetic explanation, therefore, is not adequate.

Various other explanations have been suggested. One assumes that the absence of such scenes is due to a survival of ritualistic custom.¹¹ But theories based on some hypothetical ritualistic custom are never altogether convincing, and they are warranted only in case that the phenomena cannot be explained by more obvious considerations. Another theory contends that since the drama was a sacred religious festival and its actors, accordingly, were sacred, "... the taboo which had been derived from ancient ritual prevented one actor from murdering another upon the stage."¹² In order to account for the suicides of Ajax and Evadne, however, it is assumed that this taboo did not protect an actor from himself or from nature and the gods. The famous case of Demosthenes against Meidias is cited in this connection, although it is readily admitted that there is a difference between real assault in the theater and the simulated violence which might have taken place "on

¹⁰ Cf. Sophocles, *Philoc.* 39, 696–99, 783–84, 824–25, 876, 891. Cf. Euripides, *Philoctetes*, as described by Dio Chry., *orat.* 59.5. Cf. Sophocles, *Ajax* 1411–13; *Antig.* 412.

¹¹ Stuart, p. 189.

¹² Flickinger, pp. 130–32. Flickinger discusses and gives some weight to other considerations, such as the paucity of actors, aesthetic considerations, etc. He mentions the fact that actors were pelted and that actors in comedy offer violence to one another.

stage." Various other objections to these theories, however, may be cited. Demosthenes (*In Meid.* 147) plainly states that the law under which he is prosecuting Meidias was not in existence when Alcibiades struck his rival choregus Taureas.¹³ Just how sacred actors were felt to be in the early period, therefore, when the conventions of the theater were being formed, is open to question. We may recall the legend of Solon and Thespis, wherein Thespis gives as his sole defense the fact that it is all a play. There is no hint of his being allowed indulgence or claiming any because of a sacred connection with the rite.¹⁴ There is also evidence that actors and other performers were occasionally pelted with figs, grapes, olives, and even stones.¹⁵ In fact, it is said that Aeschylus (possibly while acting in a play) once was thought to be revealing the mysteries and would have been killed had he not rushed to the altar of Dionysus for protection.¹⁶ Whether this story is true or not, it shows that those who repeated it thought that real violence might be offered to one in the theater (possibly an actor) and that in the theater, as anywhere else, one might obtain immunity from violent attack only by fleeing to the altar. Actors in comedy, furthermore, offer one another simulated violence. The simplest explanation for the fact that tragic characters occasionally commit suicide before the audience but never in extant drama are slain by another character is found in the comparative ease of simulating suicide and the difficulty of simulating violent combat and slaughter.

The presence of death in the theater, according to another explanation, would be objectionable from a religious point of view since the theater was sacred to Dionysus, and the god was felt to be a spectator at the festival. But this theory is quickly dispatched, for corpses are frequently brought on stage. A further refinement of the theory to avoid this fatal difficulty has been attempted. The act of dying, it is contended, is the really contaminating feature.¹⁷ But there is no basis for any such contention. Real death was always contaminating and was always

¹³ Cf. Ps.-Andocides IV 20-21; Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 16. On expelling one not a citizen, contrast Ps.-Andocides, *loc. cit.*, with Demosthenes, 21 (*In Meid.*), 56-57, 60.

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Solon* 29.

¹⁵ Demosthenes, *De Corona* (18) 262; *De Falsa Leg.* (19) 337. Machon, quoted by Athenaeus, 245 d-e (of a citharode); Petronius 90.5 (of a poet).

¹⁶ Anon. in *Ethic. Aristotelis* p. 145 Heylbut, quoting Heracleides Ponticus. Wilamowitz (*Aischyli Tragoediae*, Berlin, Weidmann, 1914, p. 15) assumes that this charge was brought in the assembly held in the theater after the festival. But the story certainly does not suggest an assembly such as that at which Demosthenes secured a *praeiudicium* against Meidias. It suggests mob violence, arising spontaneously. So Gilbert Murray, *Aeschylus* (Oxford, 1940), p. 151 note. The story occurs also in Aelian, *V.H.* 5.19, and in Clem. Alex., *Strom.* 2, p. 461.

¹⁷ Cf. Kiefer, pp. 105-6.

avoided by the gods. If the action of a play is viewed according to the dramatic illusion, it takes place not in the theater of Dionysus but before the palace of Agamemnon in Argos or somewhere else, and there are no spectators divine or human. If the action is viewed according to prosaic reality, it takes place in the theater and before Dionysus, but there is no real death and therefore no real contamination. But of course the action must maintain verisimilitude by not having a "corpse" within the view of a god "on stage." Death comes to characters before the eyes of the audience in the *Alcestis* and in the *Hippolytus*, and apparently in the *Ajax* and in Euripides' *Suppliants*.¹⁸ These cases absolutely eliminate any religious objection to death in the theater.

Still other scholars have with more cogency explained the absence of violence in the theater upon practical grounds. One difficulty was the removal of the body of the slain person. The case of Ajax has been cited as an argument against this assumption,¹⁹ but the case of Ajax is not typical and therefore not very significant, for in the *Ajax*, the plot of the play itself is concerned with the final disposal of the body—an integral and effective part of the play. The body of one who has met death "off-stage," furthermore, is sometimes brought on before burial, as are the corpses of Eteocles and Polynices in the *Septem* and in the *Phoenissae*. Here, too, the mourning over the bodies and their burial is an important part of these plays (although the genuineness of the final scenes of both is disputed). The body of Astyanax, furthermore, is brought before the audience in the *Troades* and is carried forth to be buried at the end of the play.²⁰ When an interior scene is revealed by means of the *eccyclema*, of course, there is no problem over the removal of the bodies. But in certain cases, the dramatist does not wish to be concerned with the disposition of a dead character. Thus in the *Hercules*, no sympathy is to be wasted on Lycus, whose body, we are told, Hercules cast forth from his house (922–24). Even in a case like that of Jocasta in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, the dramatist does not wish to place too much emphasis on a minor phase of the tragedy. In both these cases, however, there are also other considerations, as we shall see later, which make it desirable to have the deaths occur "off-stage."

Closely bound up with this problem of the removal of dead bodies are the difficulties caused by economy of roles. An actor taking the part of a person slain was often called upon to assume another role, if the

¹⁸ Other cases may have been found in Sophocles, *Odysseus Akanthoplex*, and Euripides, *Meleager* and *Aeolus* (Canace). Cf. Kiefer, p. 103.

¹⁹ Cf. Stuart, p. 184.

²⁰ Corpses are brought on stage in various other plays; e.g., Euripides, *Elec.* 895 (Aegisthus).

plays were presented by only two or three actors. Although the rule of three actors has been repeatedly attacked in recent years—how successful these attacks have been is a matter of opinion—the tradition that Sophocles introduced the third actor still stands.²¹ In regard to deaths on stage, economy of roles must have been of great importance during the early period, especially during the period of two actors—although later plays, such as the *Alcestis*, may have employed only two actors—and it was in this early period, of course, that the conventions of the theater were being formed.²² Even in this early period, however, both practical and artistic considerations doubtless combined in preventing violent deeds from being committed before the audience. It would be a mistake, therefore, to place too much emphasis on such matters as removal of bodies and the number of actors, especially in Sophocles and Euripides, where the number of actors in a given scene may sometimes be the result rather than the cause of placing the violent deeds “off-stage.” Doubtless the plays could have been constructed differently, and in the following examination of individual plays, an effort will be made to discover the various difficulties which the dramatists faced, and not to explain precisely why the deed of violence was committed “off-stage” in each instance.

In the *Supplikes* and *Persae* of Aeschylus, no violent death occurs. In the *Prometheus*, Hephaestus binds Prometheus to the cliff, arms, legs, and body (54–77), and drives an adamantine wedge straight through his chest (64–5). This was probably done in a realistic fashion; at least, the chorus say that the clang of iron pierced the inmost recesses of their caves (133–34). Scholars usually assume, however, that Prometheus is here represented by a wooden model. This is a plausible assumption not only because of the violence of the first scene, but also because the play seems to belong to the period of two actors. Whether we should say that one actor here offers simulated violence to another is a nice problem which we will not discuss.

In the *Septem*, Eteocles goes forth to fight his brother before the

²¹ It is assumed in the present paper that all the tragedies were performed by either two or three actors. Even if a fourth actor is assumed for the *Oedipus at Colonus* or the *Rhesus*, this does not affect the body of ancient tragedy. Cf. Kaffenberger, p. 45. For the arguments against the rule of three actors, see Kelley Rees, *The So-called Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama*, Chicago, 1908; A. C. Schlesinger, *Clas. Phil.*, XXV (1930), 230–35; XXVIII (1933), 176–81.

²² Philostratus (*Vita Ap.* 6.11), among what he considers the inventions of Aeschylus, cites dying off-stage (ὑπὸ σκηνῆς) “in order that slaughter might not take place before the audience (ἐν φανερώ).”

Suidas says that Neophron (s.v.) was the first to introduce paedagogues and the torture of slaves. Cf. Haigh, p. 418.

seventh gate of Thebes. Later the bodies of both are brought before the audience (861), and Antigone and Ismene appear and stand beside their brothers, although even this part of the ending has been suspected. We may note that if Aeschylus had desired to present the duel of the brothers—and perhaps there is no violence described in Greek tragedy that would make a more dramatic and effective scene—still he would have been faced perhaps with the difficulty of changing the locale of the action, and doubtless he would have been forced to present Polynices, who has no lines in the present play, as a speaking character. With two speaking actors “dead” before the audience, the author would have found himself in grave difficulties, especially if the play belongs to the period of two actors. Certainly the last scene with Antigone and Ismene, which is often considered spurious, would have been impossible even with three actors unless stage trickery were employed. In Euripides’ *Phoenissae*, the two brothers are brought quarreling before the audience in an effective scene (588–637) wherein they exchange bitter words before their mother Jocasta. This is a distinct improvement over Aeschylus from the standpoint of dramatic effect, but here again, of course, the actual duel takes place outside, and the corpses along with that of Jocasta are brought in later (1480). Antigone, Oedipus, and, if his part in the ending is genuine, Creon are present as speaking actors in the final scene.

In the *Agamemnon*, the king is slain within the palace by the devices of Clytemnestra. Such slaying by ambush, of course, is most naturally done within.²³ Cassandra also is slain within, and the bodies are revealed to the audience (1372). Here for the first time in extant drama the eccyclema may have been employed. Two corpses and two speaking actors are before the audience in the final scene. So in the *Choephoroe*, Aegisthus is lured into the palace and murdered (869). Clytemnestra enters, the corpse of Aegisthus is revealed to her (892), and Orestes declares that he intends to slay her by the side of her lover (904). Orestes forces her within at verse 930 and slays her there—a very clear case of the dramatist’s refusal to present a murder before the eyes of the audience. After a chorus, Orestes exhibits both bodies and the net in which his father was ensnared and murdered. During the last scene, he is the only speaking actor. In the *Electra* of Sophocles, Clytemnestra is murdered within the palace and her body, doubtless brought on by

²³ Cf. Schlesinger, pp. 68–74, who finds the explanation of the fact that death usually occurs off-stage in the mechanical limitations of the Attic theater, including the lack of interior scenes and the immobility of the chorus. But he admits that aesthetic principles were of influence. Cf. *Clas. Phil.*, XXVIII (1933), 179.

means of the *eccyclema*, is revealed to Aegisthus before the audience. He is driven within to be slain by Orestes, who tells him that he must die where Agamemnon was slain (1495–96). There are three speaking actors in this effective final scene, since Electra, too, is present, and it is assumed that in this play, the part of Clytemnestra and that of Orestes were both taken by the same actor.²⁴ In the *Electra* of Euripides, a messenger tells how Orestes slew Aegisthus at a feast amid his followers (839–43). The head of Aegisthus is brought on stage (880) and a long speech of abuse is addressed to it by Electra. Clytemnestra is later lured within and slain. Her corpse is revealed and shrouded (1230–32). There are three speaking actors, Castor, Orestes, and Electra, in the final scene. It will be noted that Euripides loses the dramatic effect of having one of the guilty pair discover the corpse of the other before the audience.

In the *Hercules*, Lycus and his followers are trapped within the palace and slain. It is usually assumed that the same actor took the parts of Hercules and Lycus.²⁵ Hercules then goes mad and slays Megara and their children, who are exhibited with Hercules in a scene involving three speaking actors (1089). In the case of Lycus, of course, ambush is most natural. Another case of ambush occurs in the *Hecuba*, where Polymestor and his children are lured within, and the women there blind him and slay his children (1034–46). Here again, ambush is most natural, and of course takes place within.

There are various other practical considerations. It was probably difficult to simulate slaughter in the open Greek theater with Greek weapons. Even minor violence such as the blinding of a character is regularly accomplished behind the scenes.²⁶ In fact, the impossibility of modifying the expression of the mask has been considered by some scholars as the primary reason, or at least a very important one, for the removal of violent deaths from the view of the audience.²⁷ But the fact that various characters do die before the audience seems to vitiate this theory. The ancients went to great lengths to facilitate the realistic simulation of death in the theater, in later periods at least, as we infer from the careful description of a stage sword in Achilles Tatius (3.20–21). This sword was used by a theatrical reciter of Homer. It had a handle

²⁴ Cf. Jebb's edition of the *Electra*, p. 4.

²⁵ Schlesinger (*Clas. Phil.*, XXVIII [1933], 179) thinks that this arrangement of the death of Lycus is not designed to release the actor of the role.

²⁶ In the *Andromache* of Euripides, the hands of Andromache are bloody when she is brought upon the stage (501; cf. 719). Compare the charioteer in the *Rhesus* (751, 794).

²⁷ O. Hense, *Die Modificirung der Maske in der Griech. Tragödie*² (Freiburg, 1905), p. 23. Cf. Kiefer, p. 49.

four palms long and a blade of equal length when it was extended. But the blade easily receded into the hollow handle, leaving the point only slightly protruding. There are other references to collapsible daggers, and Hesychius, citing Polemon, says that the *συσπαστόν* was used by tragic actors in the presentation of Ajax.²⁸

The presence of the chorus, also, might have been embarrassing in certain cases, such as the murder of Agamemnon and Medea's murder of her own children. The chorus is removed for the suicide of Ajax, but they are present and helpless to prevent the suicide of Evadne in the *Suppliants* of Euripides.

Some deaths in Greek tragedy may be dramatically more effective behind the scenes and with the cries of the victims heard in the theater. The cases just cited of Agamemnon and of the children of Medea are examples in point, for these plays are built up to these events and the anticipation of what is about to take place behind the scenes is perhaps more dreadful than the spectacle of the murders would have been. Similar is the murder of Clytemnestra in Sophocles' *Electra*, where the cries of the mother are answered by the bloodthirsty daughter on stage. But these cases are among the most horrible murders in Greek tragedy, and it may well be that aesthetic considerations here enter in.²⁹

Many other deaths in Greek tragedy most naturally occur within or "off-stage." So Jocasta in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* commits suicide by hanging herself within, and the same person in Euripides' *Phoenissae* commits suicide over her fallen sons at the scene of their duel. Phaedra hangs herself within the palace in the *Hippolytus*, and Eurydice commits suicide with a sword in the *Antigone* like Deianeira in the *Trachiniae*—here on the marriage couch.³⁰ Incidentally we may note that the roles of Deianeira and of Hercules were probably taken by the same actor. Hanging is difficult to portray in any theater and rarely occurs before the audience in Elizabethan or modern drama. In short, practical considerations of staging are still important in preventing the dramatist from exhibiting such scenes.³¹

²⁸ Jebb on Sophocles, *Ajax* 815, says that this Polemon is the sophist of Hadrian's age; but this Polemon is sometimes taken to be the historian of the second century B.C. Hesychius cites not only the word *συσπαστόν* (s.v.) but also *ἀνδρομητόν*. With the use of such devices, it is interesting to compare Petronius 94.12–15.

²⁹ Cf. Scholiast on Sophocles, *Elec.* 1404.

On the effectiveness of these scenes, compare the scene in Ibsen's *Master Builder*, cited below, note 32.

³⁰ Sometimes the corpses of these women are brought on, e.g., Jocasta in the *Phoenissae*, or exhibited, e.g., Phaedra in the *Hippolytus*.

³¹ A hanging occurs in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, Act II, Scenes iv–v. I am indebted to Professor Hardin Craig for these observations on hanging in Elizabethan drama.

Other deaths occur at a place different from that which the author has chosen for the main action of his play. Thus Pentheus in the *Bacchae* is slain upon the heights of Cithaeron, Antigone and Haemon commit suicide in the tomb—Antigone by hanging herself, and the various deaths in the *Rhesus* occur in the camps of Rhesus while the scene of the play is laid before the tent of Hector. In the *Troades*, Astyanax is led away to be hurled from the walls. Later his corpse is brought in.

Extreme violence accompanies the death of some characters. Pentheus in the *Bacchae* is torn limb from limb by the raving women. Hippolytus is fatally wounded when he is thrown from his chariot and dragged by his horses, which have been terrified by a monster sent from the sea by Poseidon.³² He dies, however, after he has been brought before the audience (1457–58).

This last example adds still another element: the presence of magic or miracles so frequently connected with death in Greek mythology. In the *Ajax* of Aeschylus, the sword was said to have bent like a bow being strung against the invulnerable body of the hero.³³ In the *Oedipus at Colonus*, Oedipus disappears from the earth, as does Helen in the *Orestes* of Euripides, and Iphigenia in *Iphigenia at Aulis*, for whom a hind is substituted by Artemis. On the other hand, we must note that Sophocles, wishing to portray the death of Ajax on stage, merely omits the miraculous bending of the sword.³⁴

The most important evidence on the origin of the convention concerning violence in the theater, however, is found in those few cases where violent death does occur before the eyes of the audience, for there is no hard and fixed law against presenting violent death in the Greek theater just as there are practically no "laws" on any phase of Greek tragedy. Aristotle himself (*Poet.* 1452 b) speaks of deaths before the audience, and apparently the ancient spectators did not feel that it was impossible for murder to be committed before their eyes, or at least, they experienced the same excitement as a modern audience would feel when a murder was apparently about to be committed "on

³² One may compare Ibsen's *Master Builder*, where the master builder at the end of the play climbs a tower off-stage but is observed by those on stage. Such action could not be realistically presented on stage, though a dummy might be used to represent the falling body.

³³ Cf. Scholiast on Sophocles, *Ajax* 815 and 833.

³⁴ On the other hand, it would appear to have been easy to represent some deaths brought about by magic, as in the slaying of the daughters of Niobe by Artemis, as described in the text of this paper. The rejuvenation of Iolaus in the *Heracleidae* (cf. 796) is not, of course, accomplished before the audience. Cadmus' description of his transformation in Euripides, frag. 930 N², may be a direct quotation within a messenger's speech. On the miracle in the *Bacchae*, cf. G. M. A. Grube, *T.A.P.A.*, LXVI (1935), 44–47.

stage."³⁵ The most famous case of this sort was the scene in Euripides' *Cresphontes*. Plutarch (*Moral.* 998 E) thus describes the scene: "Consider also the case of Merope in the tragedy coming upon her own son but thinking him the murderer of her son. With ax poised, she is saying, 'I give you this . . . blow' How great a commotion she creates in the theater! The audience is dreadfully afraid lest she wound the lad before the old man stops her." We know from other sources that *Cresphontes* had fallen asleep, and it appears reasonable to assume that he was in view of the audience.³⁶ Aristotle (*Poet.* 1454 a; cf. *Ethica Nic.* 1111 a) refers to this scene as his first example of the best type of situation. He cites the case of Iphigenia, also, when she is about to sacrifice Orestes. This type of situation was a favorite one with Euripides. It is found in various plays including the *Ion* and the lost *Aegeus*.³⁷

Somewhat similar, perhaps, was the excitement caused by Telephus' threat to slay the infant Orestes in Euripides' *Telephus*, another famous scene, parodied by Aristophanes in the *Archarnians* and elsewhere and a favorite subject in vase painting.³⁸ In Euripides' *Helen*, a minor character is about to be slain, it appears, just as the Dioscuri appear (1641). In Euripides' *Suppliants*, suspense is created over the suicide of Evadne, and her death actually takes place before the eyes of the audience, for after delivering her pathetic speech, she throws herself upon the pyre of her husband Capaneus (1071). She doubtless falls somewhere out of sight of the audience, though at least the smoke of the pyre seems to have been visible to all. Three speaking actors are present in the final scene. Polyxena is sacrificed upon the pyre of Achilles in the *Hecuba*. This takes place "off-stage" and is reported by Talthybius (518-82). But in the *Polyxena* of Sophocles, as we infer from Pseudo-Longinus (15.7) and Apollodorus (*F.H.G.* I 429), the tomb of Achilles was represented before the audience.³⁹ Just how Polyxena was sacrificed

³⁵ It is quite possible, of course, to create suspense and excitement in a drama by preparing for impossible acts of violence. Thus in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, Act III, Scene i, a character is about to be burned alive on stage.

³⁶ Cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 137. The manner of staging this scene in the *Cresphontes*, however, is disputed. Cf. Robert, *Hermes*, XXXII (1897), p. 428, n. 1.

³⁷ See list in Gudemann's commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* 1453 b 19, pp. 257-58. Cf. Hyginus, *Fab.* 122, Accius, *Agamemnonidae*.

³⁸ Séchan, pp. 503-18. According to the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Ach.* 332, Telephus seized Orestes in the play of Aeschylus; so perhaps the older poet invented this exciting scene. But this is a disputed point; cf. Séchan, pp. 121-27.

³⁹ Cf. Jebb-Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles* II, 161-63. Pearson is inclined to follow Welcker (I, 180) in thinking that the sacrifice of Polyxena must not have been enacted before the eyes of the spectators. This leads to a dilemma from which, he remarks, there seems to be no way of escape in the present state of our knowledge. We know from Apollodorus, who

in this play remains uncertain, but it is possible that she died before the audience, since here again no struggle accompanies the death (cf. Euripides, *Hec.* 553–70), and the sacrifice could doubtless be simulated without difficulty. There are other cases of sacrifice, however, that clearly occur “off-stage” besides that of Iphigenia. In the *Heraclidae*, Macaria is sacrificed (cf. 601), and in the *Phoenissae*, Menoeceus dedicates himself to the gods on the ramparts in order to save the city (cf. 1090). His body is later brought before the audience (1310).

Again, death occurs before the audience in the *Ajax* of Sophocles. Here the chorus is removed from the theater on the pretext of searching for the hero; the scene changes to a lonely seashore, where Ajax comes to destroy himself. Precisely how this action was managed in the theater is not clear. A collapsible sword, as pointed out above, was used in this scene, at least in later times. It seems clear, also, that by some device, the actor fell out of sight of the audience,⁴⁰ for this actor was the protagonist, and it is usually assumed that he took the part of Teucer.⁴¹ Certain it is that there are three speaking actors in the final scene of the play, and that the body is not discovered immediately upon the re-entry of the chorus. Tecmessa shortly discovers it and shrouds it with a great cloak (915). Later the corpse is revealed to Teucer (1003–5), and in the final scenes of the play, the actors may be grouped around the body, the proper burial of which is the central theme of the latter half of the play.

In still another play, actual slaughter may have been presented before the audience, although only fragments of this play have been preserved and the action cannot be determined with certainty. In fact, the identity of the papyrus fragments of the scene in question is not certain, but they are plausibly assumed to be from the *Niobe* of Sophocles, and

quotes fragment 523 J-P, that Sophocles brought the ghost of Achilles before the audience; and Pseudo-Longinus (15.7) says that the ghost of Achilles appeared above his tomb. The most natural conclusion seems to be that here, as in the *Ajax* and probably in the *Niobe*, Sophocles altered the tradition to secure a more sensational effect. Cf. Schlesinger, pp. 70–71. Aristotle (*Poet.* 1452 b) refers to deaths before the audience (...οἱ τε ἐν τῷ φανερῷ θάνατοι...). Cf. Gudemann, ad hoc.

⁴⁰ Cf. Jebb on *Ajax* 815. The scholiast remarks on this line that such scenes were rare among the ancients, and that deeds of this sort were usually related by messengers, as was the death of Ajax in the *Thracian Women* of Aeschylus. The scholiast suggests that Sophocles either wanted to be original or wished to secure a stronger effect. Another comment (on *Ajax* 864) informs us that the actor Timotheus of Zacynthus (date unknown) was called the σφαγεύς. It is often assumed that this epithet was given him because he presented this scene before the audience. So Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte der Griech. Lit.*, I 2, 338 note 6. It may be, however, that the actor became famous under this epithet because of his delivery of the magnificent last speech of Ajax, which begins

ὁ μὲν σφαγεύς ἔστηκεν ἢ τομώτατος

⁴¹ Cf. Jebb's edition of the *Ajax*, p. 7.

they are considered to belong to the third century B.C. One papyrus fragment (442 Jebb-Pearson) seems to consist of an exchange between one daughter, who has just been struck, and the chorus. Another (444 J-P) likens the flight of a daughter to that of a colt released from the yoke.⁴² Some scholars assume that these two daughters died upon the stage, but that all the other daughters died within the palace after the sons had been killed while hunting on Mount Cithaeron.⁴³ At least, Apollodorus (3.46), who may have been following Sophocles, says that Apollo killed the sons while they were hunting on Cithaeron and Artemis shot down the daughters in the palace. Hyginus (9), also, says that Diana slew (*sagittis interemit*) the daughters except Chloris in the palace. Ovid (*Met.* VI 146–312) relates the story, but he says that the sons were slain in the *campus*. One detail of Ovid's version, however, deserves special attention. He describes the collapse of one daughter in the following words (*Met.* VI 293): *conticuit subito, duplicataque vulnerere caeco est . . .*. The fact that the wound is a supernatural one is not surprising.⁴⁴ The arrows of Artemis may very naturally be considered magic and invisible, and so if two daughters were slain before the audience, there was doubtless no actual representation of arrows in the staging. In fact, Artemis herself may not have been visible to the audience.⁴⁵ Long before these papyrus fragments were discovered, Welcker (I 292) surmised that the arrows of Artemis in this play were supernatural and that the daughters of Niobe were slain before the audience. Besides the papyrus fragments, another possible indication that two daughters died before the audience is found in a small, fragmentary, marble painting from Pompeii. On the left in this picture, Niobe herself is represented holding her youngest daughter, who has already been struck by an arrow in the thigh, as it seems,⁴⁶ and is looking up as if to the goddess. On the right, the nurse is seen, bending over

⁴² On this interpretation of the fragments, cf. Robert, *Hermes*, XXXVI (1901), 372–75; Jebb-Pearson ad hoc; T. B. L. Webster, *An Introduction to Sophocles* (Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1936), 167, 175; Lesky, col. 654, C. R. Post, "The Dramatic Art of Sophocles as Revealed by the Fragments of the Lost Plays," *Harvard Stud. in Clas. Phil.*, XXXIII (1922), p. 58.

⁴³ Cf. Jebb-Pearson, II, 94–98.

⁴⁴ The wounds of the sons, however, are described by Ovid as being very real ones (*Met.* 6. 227–66).

⁴⁵ Bulle (p. 329), in considering the marble picture from Pompeii, thinks that the gaze of Niobe in this picture is directed towards Apollo upon a balcony or upper floor and corresponding to Artemis on the other side.

⁴⁶ From the reproductions (cf. Bulle, p. 328 abb. 29), one cannot be sure whether an arrow is represented or not. In a pictorial representation, however, we should not be surprised to find the arrow included even if none was used in the presentation of the scene in the theater and the arrow was conceived as supernatural.

another daughter who has already fallen. The background of this picture is difficult to interpret, but some have thought that it represents a stage background, and Robert's identification of the picture as a scene from the play of Sophocles seems plausible.⁴⁷ It will be noted that only two daughters are here depicted, so that this painting, if the preserved portion is essentially complete, is consistent with the papyrus fragments.⁴⁸ If we are correct in the reconstruction and in the identity of this scene, then Sophocles again in the *Niobe* reworked a theme of Aeschylus in a more dramatic and spectacular manner, presenting a part of the actual slaughter of the children before the audience because the unseen arrows of Artemis eliminated all difficulties of staging such a scene.

The innovations of Sophocles in regard to deeds of violence are most enlightening. Certainly in the *Ajax* and possibly in the *Niobe*, Sophocles modifies the earlier treatment of these stories at the hands of Aeschylus. It seems that his treatment of the sacrifice of Polyxena, also, differed markedly from that of Euripides (*Hecuba*). In all these cases, Sophocles strives for a more sensational effect; he substitutes dramatic action for narration; and when by some device difficulties of staging can be circumvented and tragic dignity retained, he has apparently presented scenes of violent death before the audience.

From these various considerations, it appears that the nature of many of the violent deaths in Greek tragedy and practical limitations of staging and acting, especially in the early period, chiefly account for the fact that violent deeds are rarely committed before the audience in the Greek theater.

⁴⁷ Robert, *Hermes*, XXXVI (1901), 368-87; *Niobe, ein Marmorbild aus Pompeji* (Halle, 1903); Lesky, col. 680. Bulle (p. 329) is uncertain whether the scene comes from a drama or an elaborate pantomime. There are no masks represented in the picture.

⁴⁸ Bulle (p. 329) is of the opinion that the figures in this fragmentary picture are grouped as on a stage and not as in an artistic picture and that the other daughters were depicted in the complete painting from which this fragment is preserved. But this latter assumption is not necessary. See Lesky, col. 680. Kiefer (p. 40) points out that many scenes from tragedy are depicted on vases which do not occur on stage in the actual dramas, such as Medea slaying her children, the death of Neoptolemus, etc.

SOME MINOR WAYS OF WORD-FORMATION IN OLD ENGLISH

HERBERT MERITT

Stanford University

In any appraisal of the Old English vocabulary, it is customary to emphasize the readiness and ability with which the language formed new words by making compounds from material already at hand; and it is usual to discuss the nature and extent of its borrowings. Not so likely to be considered is the fact that the Old English vocabulary was receptive to a number of less obvious influences. Some of these are well known as they apply to Modern English. Most of them could probably be found to be active in the formation of English vocabulary at any period in its history. Passing over the well-studied matter of compounds and borrowings, I propose here to look at less obvious factors which have had a part in the formation of Old English words: popular etymologies, blends, clipped words, amalgamated compounds, confusions, ghost words, translation words, and hybrids.¹

Popular Etymologies.—The Old English term for the plant which in Modern English is called *caltrop*² appears both as *calcatrippe* and *col-tetræppe*. The first is taken over directly from Latin *calcatrippa*; the second seems to conform the unfamiliar Latin word to two known Old English words, *colt* and *træppe*.³ Latin *subtalaris* was made to sound at least partly like a native word and was fitted into Old English as *swiftlere*, 'slipper.' Latin *margarita* was adapted in Old English as *meregrota*, 'pearl,' the Latin having been refashioned as if composed of the two native words *mere* and *grota*, literally 'sea pebble.'⁴ Old Eng-

¹ In discussing these it is of course necessary to consider the etymology of words concerned. For this I have used F. Holthausen's *Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1934). I hope to have distorted none of the etymologies given in it; but as it often indicates origin without naming the process or processes involved in the formation of the word, it is not to be held responsible for my various classifications.

² Cf. *N.E.D.* section 3 under *caltrop*: "Now usually *Caltraps*: A name given to various plants that catch or entangle the feet"

³ The *N.E.D.* documents first from about 1300 for *caltrop* the meaning "a trap, gin, or snare, to catch the feet of beasts, of horses or men in war, and the like." In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a form *galltrap* was frequent which, according to the *N.E.D.*, is a popular etymology referring to the galling of horses' feet.

⁴ The borrowed *margarita* was given a popular etymology in Old Saxon and Old High German as well.

lish *lufestice*, 'lovage,' adheres closely to its Vulgar Latin source *luvestica*, but one is perhaps not wrong in feeling that to a speaker of Old English the word seemed formed of *lufu* and *stice* with a literal meaning something like 'lovestitch.'⁵ A word for 'pack-horse' was *ealfara* which might have had some such popular association as 'all-fare,' although it is ultimately from Arabic *al faras*, 'horse.' Latin *baptista* was adapted in Old English as *bæzere*, 'baptizer,' but forms such as *bæðcere* indicate that it was associated with *bæð*, 'bath.' The first part of the word *ambiht*, 'office,' seems to have been thought of as having to do with the prefix *ymb*, as indicated in the form *ymbiht*. Holthausen etymologizes *balsmeðe*, 'green mint,' as coming from Greek βαλσαμίνη, the ending arising however from association with *smeðe*, 'smooth.'

Popular etymology in Old English was not confined to the making over of borrowed words. The word *ærendraca*, 'messenger,' earlier *ærendwreca*, arose from popular association of the second part of the word with *racu*, 'narration.'⁶ In addition to *egor*, 'sea,' there occurs *eagor*, 'sea,' which may have arisen from the association of the first part of *egor* with *ea*, 'water.' Similarly by a popular change of the first part of *efolsian*, 'blaspheme,' there arose the word *yfelsian*, as if having to do with *yfel*, 'evil.' The words *frenhicge* and *frenhicgend* both mean 'adulteress' and in form seem to be related to *hycgan*, 'to think'; the endings *hicge* and *hicgend* are popular alterations of the feminine suffix *icge*.⁷ Old English *bilewit*, 'innocent,' was written also as *bilehwit* and may have been associated with such a literal meaning as 'bill-white'.⁸

There is perhaps the smack of popular etymologizing in *cursumbor*,⁹ 'incense,' from Medieval Latin *cozumber*; in *ladsar*, variant of *laser*, 'weed,' from Latin *laser*; in either *godæppel* or *codæppel*, both meaning 'quince,' in *hundesbeo*, synonymous with *hundespeo*, 'dog's para-

⁵ The German word for the same plant, *Liebstockel*, is also a popular etymology of the Latin. Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1910), under *Liebstockel*: "Die unverständliche lat. Lautform erfuhr im Mittelalter die verschiedensten volksetymologischen Umdeutungen: auch angl. *lufestice* knüpft an angl. *lufu* 'Liebe' an." The Middle English word for the plant, *loveache*, is also a popular etymology of Old French *levesche*.

⁶ Cf. Kluge's etymology of the word, *P.B.B.*, VIII, 528.

⁷ Cf. K. Kärre, *Nomina Agentis in Old English* (Upsala, 1915), p. 150; and Arthur Napier, *Old English Glosses* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), I, 2940, note.

⁸ The *N.E.D.* under *bilewhit* notes: "The interpretation 'white of bill,' like a young bird (from OE. *bile* + *hwit*), was current at an early date, as shown by 12th c. spellings . . ."; but it states that earlier spellings had not *hwit* but *wite*. Hall's *Dictionary* gives *bilehwit* = *bilewit*.

⁹ For the suggestion that the word has been influenced by OE. *crisma*, cf. *Eng. Stud.*, XLII, 177.

site'; and in *wolcenread*, literally 'sky red,' synonymous with *weoluc-read*, 'shellfish red.'

Blends.—The unravelling of a blend is an etymological operation often fraught with uncertainties. However, it will probably be generally accepted that two words have gone into the making of each of the following words, and I venture that the process was that of conscious and immediate mingling, a blend. The Old English word for 'prison,' *car-cern*, was formed of Latin *carcer* 'prison,' and the native *ærn*, 'house.' From the two Old English animal names *assa*, 'ass,' and *esol*, 'ass,' was formed *asal*, 'ass.' From Latin *locusta* and Old English *loppestre*, 'locust,' was formed *lopust*, 'locust.' The word for 'brothel,' *myltesterne*, may be a blend of *myltestre*, 'prostitute,' and *ærn*, 'house.'¹⁰

Clipped Words.—Some words in Old English are shortened forms which have arisen by the omission of at least a syllable from the beginning or end of fuller words; the process is like that by which we have formed *van* from *caravan* and also *van* from *vanguard*. Latin *responso-rium* is adapted in Old English as *respons*, from which come the shorter words *resp* and, with metathesis, *reps*. In addition to the two borrowed words *epistol* and *apostol* there occur also *pistol* and *postol*. An elephant was called both *ylpend* and *ylp*.¹¹ Latin *abrotonum* was borrowed in Old English as *aprotane*, 'wormwood,' and the aphetic *prutene* also occurs. The Old English word for the plant chervil was *cerfille* and the shortened *fille* also meant some kind of plant, perhaps thyme rather than chervil.¹² For *begir*, 'berry,' and *beg* in the compounds *herutbeg*, 'buckthorn berry,' and *begbeam*, 'bramble,' Holthausen's *Wörterbuch* considers the etymology unknown.¹³ Perhaps *begir* is a metathetic form¹⁴ of the etymologically understandable form *berig*, and *beg* a shortened form of *begir*.

Amalgamated Compounds.—The parts of a compound may, over a considerable period of time, become so merged that the resulting word seems to be no longer a compound; *lord* and *lady*, for example, no

¹⁰ Napier (*Old English Glosses*, 8, 225, note) suggests that it is a compound.

¹¹ J. Platt, *Anglia*, VI, 174, sees popular etymology as a factor in the development of *ylp* from *ylpend*.

¹² Cf. *fille* in *N.E.D.*

¹³ Napier, *Old English Glosses*, 54 note 2, considers *herutbeg* synonymous with *herutberge* and refers to *beg* as possibly an old *os*, *es* stem.

¹⁴ Metathesis occurs with much frequency in Old English words. For example, from forms cited in Hall's *Dictionary* (3d ed.): *æsp*, *æps*; *brastlung*, *barstlung*; *bridd*, *bird*; *burna*, *brunna*; *cærse*, *cresse*; *ceafladl*, *cealfadl*; *cirisbeam*, *cisirbeam*; *cranuc*, *cornuc*; *cirps*, *crisp*; *cosp*, *cops*; *firstmearc*, *fristmearc*; *frosc*, *forsc*; *fyrhtu*, *fryhtu*; *gebrosnung*, *geborsnung*; *gristbitung*, *girstbitung*; *gærs*, *græs*; *hærn*, *hræn*; *hæpse*, *hæsp*; *hyspan*, *gehypsán*; *spadl*, *spald*; *tosca*, *toxa*; *ðerscold*, *ðrescold*; *wæps*, *wæsp*; *worms*, *worsm*.

longer appear to be compounds and it is spelling rather than pronunciation which indicates that *cupboard* is one. Old English is replete with compounds, and in some of the process of amalgamation has obscured the individuality of the parts. The compound *beræarn*, 'barley place,' 'barn,' appears not infrequently as *bern*. Hall's *Dictionary* gives but one documentation for *hlafweard*; the amalgamated word *hlaford*, 'lord,' is common.¹⁵ The compound of *lad* and *ðeow* appears mainly as *latteow*, and that of *lar* and *ðeow* is the source of *lareow*; from the unamalgamated form develops Middle English *lorthew*, and from the amalgamated form, Middle English *larew*. A compound of *full* and *wihan* had already become *fulwian*, 'baptize,' in early Old English. In the Erfurt Glossary occurs the full form *fulteam* which elsewhere in Old English appears as the amalgamated *fultum*. In *brytofta*, 'espousals,' are merged *bryd* and *ðoft*; in *eored*, 'troop,' are merged *eoh* and *rad*. As the word 'daisy' appears to the modern user as an entity with no trace of the two words from which it developed, so such a word as *enetre*, 'yearling,' probably conveyed to its users no hint of its origin in *æn* and *wintre*. The source of *swæðer*, 'whichever,' may be seen in the documented *swahwæðer*; and similarly *dægðerne*, 'daily,' is the amalgamation of an undocumented *dæghwæðerne*. A tendency to merge, or perhaps scribal carelessness, is indicated in *awyrtilian*, synonymous with *awyrwalian*, and also in *selfwendlice*, synonymous with *selfwillendlice*.

Confusions.—A few Old English words seem to have arisen from association of one word with a similar word, in such a way that from a confusion between the two a new word has been formed. These are similar to blends and amalgamated compounds inasmuch as two words have had a part in the formation of another; and they are like popular etymologies inasmuch as they have arisen through the conforming of a sound of one word to that of another. But they differ from blends, amalgamated compounds, and popular etymologies since in their formation no two complete words have been blended or amalgamated, nor do they wholly imitate any popular word. For example, into the formation of *hwider*, 'whither,' have gone both *hwæder* and *hider*; the basic word seems to be *hwæder*, conformed to or confused with *hider*. Similarly *ðider*, 'thither,' arose from conforming *ðæder* to *hider*. From Latin *bursa* Old English borrowed a word for 'purse,' *purs*; but the initial letter probably resulted from confusion with other words for 'purse,' 'sack,' such as *pung* and *pusa*. Through a confusion of *ealneg*, 'always,' and *eallinga*, 'entirely,' arose *ealninga*, 'entirely.' Perhaps *forwest*,

¹⁵ To the unamalgamated form *hlafweard*, Hall assigns the meaning 'steward.'

'chief,' developed from an undocumented *forewesa*, 'leader,' through confusion with *formest*, 'chief.'¹⁶

Ghost Words.—Wherever words are arranged in lists, whether it be in ancient glossaries or in modern dictionaries, ghost words may occasionally appear—words whose documentation rests upon error. A number of such words that appeared in the Bosworth Toller *Dictionary* have been pointed out in the *Supplement*.¹⁷ The *Supplement* notes, for example, that *limbstefning* given in the *Dictionary* is really Latin *limbus* and a gloss *stefning*. A scribe miswrote *fægnunge*, 'rejoicing,' as *rægiminge*, a gloss to *plausu*; and the word was taken, with question marks, into the *Dictionary* as *rægiming*, 'a clapping of wings.' The *Supplement* and Hall's *Dictionary* now carry *oferwyrðe*, based on a single documentation in which the correct reading is *efenwyrðe*.

The similarity of the Old English letters for "p" and "w" is sometimes misleading to a modern reader of early manuscripts and was likely at times misleading to Anglo-Saxon copyists. Some of the uncertainties caused by the similarity of these letters may be seen on turning the pages of Hall's *Dictionary*; for example: *wægel* = *pægel*?; *pinewinle* = *winewinle*;¹⁸ *placunis* (*wlacunis*); *pranga* v. *wranga*; *wætig* = *pætig*.

Some Old English ghost words may have arisen through a transposition of parts. Apparently Old English used compounds which, with the parts in one order, varied but little in meaning from the same compound with the parts in reversed order. For example: *stanclif*, 'rock,' *clifstan*, 'rock'; *beregafol*, 'rent paid in barley,' *gafolbere*, 'barley paid as rent'; *stanceosel*, 'sand,' *ceoselstan*, 'gravel.' But if such words are known only from scanty documentation in glosses, some scepticism is justified; for in the cramped writing of glosses one part may have been written above another and a copyist in writing the gloss out in full might easily start with the wrong part. There is one documentation of *florstan*, a gloss to *tessella*, and one documentation of *stanflor*, a gloss to *tessella*. As Napier remarked of the latter, *florstan* would have been more suitable.¹⁹ The lone documentation of *fugeldoppe* in a gloss is likely a

¹⁶ Cf. R. Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Wortschatzes* (Heidelberg: 1905), p. 39.

¹⁷ Cf. also Arthur Napier, "On Some Old English Ghost-Words," *J.G.P.*, II, 359-62; and O. Schlutter, "Ghost-Words," *M.L.N.*, XXV, 80-81.

¹⁸ The *N.E.D.*, 2 under *periwinle*, notes that the MSS. favor the "w" forms but that this may be due to scribal error, as the form *pinewinle* would explain the sixteenth century literary and modern dialectal forms.

¹⁹ Napier, *Old English Glosses*, 14, 3.

transposition of *dopfugel*, with perhaps some reminiscence on *dufe-doppa*.²⁰

Translation Words.—A portion of the Old English vocabulary is made up of translation words. The formation of these is somewhat similar to such Elizabethan creations as those of Sir John Cheke, who considered substituting *frosent* for *apostle*, *gainrising* for *resurrection*, *foresaier* for *prophet*. Given a Latin word for which he had no immediate equivalent, an Anglo-Saxon translator or glossator was at times inclined to fit it part for part with Old English and thus form a new word. To this class belong Aelfric's *betwuxaworpennyss* for *interiectio*, and Byrhtferth's *samodrynelas* for *concurrentes*. In an article entitled "Semantic Borrowing in Old English," Samuel Kroesch²¹ discusses such words and gives long lists of examples. He calls attention to the fact that these examples range from compounds obviously fashioned after Latin, to those which might be native terms independent of Latin; it is difficult, he notes, to know where to draw the line between these two. If the Old English compound is known only from documentations in which it renders a Latin word with corresponding parts, there is certainly considerable likelihood that it is a translation word. For example, *ðurhbrucan*, *ðurhstrang*, *ðurhunrot*, in each of which the prefix is intensive; each has but one documentation given in the dictionaries and each renders a Latin word with prefix *per* or *prae*. Similarly *underdrifennes*, *underfealdan*, *undergeoc*, *undersingan*, *undersittan*, *undersettan*, *understapplan*, *undertodal*, *underweaxan*, and *underwyrwtalian* have but one documentation given for each in the dictionaries and each renders a Latin word with prefix *sub*. Latin words with diminutive suffix have, I believe, been causative factors in the formation of some Old English words with the diminutive suffix *incel*. In thumbing the dictionary one finds *bogincel*, *cofincel*, *docincel*, *haeftincel*, *husincel*, *liðincel*, *rapincel*, *scipincel*, *stanincel*, *sulincel*, *tunincel*, *ðeo-wincel*, *wilincel*. Six of these words are known only from their rendering of Latin diminutives: *bogincel* to *ramusculus*, *cofincel* to *pistrilla*, *liðincel* to *articulus*, *stanincel* to *lapillulus*, *rapincel* to *funiculus*, *sulincel* to *aratiuncula*. The words *tabernaculum* and *domicilium*, which are rendered by *husincel*, seem also to have been taken as diminutives. While these Old English words may have had some currency, it seems

²⁰ For further discussion of *fugeldoppe* cf. Förster in *Anglia*, XLI, 111 note.

²¹ *Studies in English Philology, A Miscellany in Honor of Frederick Klaeber* (Minneapolis, 1929), pp. 50-72. He considers two main groups of Old English words: one consisting of words formed mainly through the process of translation; and another in which only the meaning of the Old English word is affected by association with the Latin.

likely that some of them were formed by writers with one eye on the Latin.

A small number of Old English words arose from the translation of Biblical or classical names according to some traditional etymological interpretation. Both *sceawungstow* and *wlitesceawung* exist only as renderings of *Sion*; *sunfeld* renders *Eliseum* and *sceanfeld* interprets *Tempe*. The word *hlafhus* is known only as it renders *Bethlehem*; the only occurrence of *sibgesihð* is as translation of *Hierosolyma*; *synnehyrend*²² is known only as rendering *Ismahelite*; *getreowfulness* is known only from its rendering of *Israhel*. Perhaps in the interpretation of some foreign name lies the thread which will yet lead to the long sought origin of Old English *neorxnawang*.

Hybrids.—Today the speakers of English feel little if any incongruity in using such hybrids as *superheated* or *Nazidom*, and the reason may be largely that the foreign words have first become quite familiar. However, the English aptitude for joining foreign words intimately with its own is evidenced early in the language and does not necessarily rest upon familiarity with the foreign term. The first part of such compounds as *apostolhad*, *clerichad*, *martyrdom*, could probably have been called English at the time the compounds were formed; but there are some such as *wynpsalterium*, 'psalm of joy,' *tidscriptor*, 'chronographer,' *reliquiasocn*, 'visit to a shrine,' *grammaticcræft*, 'art of grammar,' and *æfencollatio*, 'the collatio read before compline,' which could hardly have been felt as anything other than a joining of native and foreign words. A readiness to join obviously foreign words intimately with English is also evidenced in proper adjectives; for example: *Nazarénisc*, *Fariseisc*, *Pirenisc*, *Saracenisc*, *Memfitisc*, *Caldisc*, *Davidlic*, *Pontisc*, *Samaritanisc*.

Among all these minor factors which had a part in the formation of the Old English vocabulary, ghost words are of course mainly mere lexicographical lapses and of little if any influence on the language. And all of the minor factors are overshadowed by the remarkable facility for forming a variety of compounds. But they are much more than mere philological terms. The translation words are one of the indications that the users of Old English were eager to employ their own words for the expression of new ideas. The clipped words, blends, amalgamated compounds, confusions, hybrids, and popular etymologies are small but persistent developments that reveal the pulse of life in Old English words.

²² Not in the dictionaries. Cf. Kärre, *Nomina Agentis in Old English*, p. 184.

PROVENÇAL ELEMENTS IN THE ENGLISH VERNACULAR LYRICS OF MANUSCRIPT HARLEY 2253

ELINOR REES

Mark Keppel High School, Alhambra, California

In the beginning of the twelfth century William of Poitiers, the first known Provençal poet, set a fashion for lyric poetry that was destined to be followed later not only by France but by most of Europe. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Provençal poetry and the imitation of the Provençals thrived in France, and we have reason to believe, in England also. That Provençal poets should go to England was natural. Eleanor, the granddaughter of William Count of Poitiers, was a patroness of poetry. In 1152 she married Henry of Anjou, and in 1154 they came to the throne of England. We are told that the troubadours Bernard de Ventadour, Macabrun, and Bertran de Born were connected with the royal household. We know that Henry's son, Richard, was a *trouvère* and that he was the friend of Alphonso II of Aragon, who was himself a troubadour. In Richard's entourage were the troubadours Peire Vidal and Arnaut Daniel.¹ Besides Henry's court there were other centers of culture in England: they were the schools, monasteries and homes of great men. William of Malmesbury's daughter-in-law Beatrice, the Countess of Die, was a famous *trobaritz*. The Provençal influence in England apparently continued far into the thirteenth century. In 1236 Henry III was married to Eleanor of Provence and we are told that the king looked with favor on his wife's countrymen, and that many Provençals visited England during his reign.

So few early English lyrics have been preserved in the vernacular that it is impossible to ascertain how direct or how extensive the Provençal influence was on the native lyricism. That it must have been considerable is very evident if the lyrics found in Manuscript Harley 2253 are any criterion, for of the forty poems in that manuscript most, if not all, give evidence of Provençal influence that must have come to England either directly or through the medium of Old French into which the culture of the south had infiltrated.

According to Lanson the "pastourelle" may have been imported

¹ W. H. Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* (New York, 1906), pp. 67-68.

from the south into the north of France. The "pastourelle" of the "chanson d'aventure" type as developed in France had certain well-defined characteristics. The opening was conventional, usually a spring setting with trees, birds and flowers. The poet often names the season as "le douz tens nouvel," or specifies the month, usually April or May; he may mention the day as "l'autrier" or "l'autre jour." The time is usually about dawn, although some "pastourelles" have an evening setting; the place is usually a wood or a meadow. The poet is generally pensive as he rides or walks along, though sometimes he is happy, and his melancholy is caused by love. He may pause to listen to the birds or he may be attracted by the song of a woman or catch glimpses of her as she sits alone. He is charmed by her beauty which he describes in detail. He then greets and questions her, and is either rebuffed or welcomed. The poet at times witnesses and reports the meeting and conversation of lovers. Of the forty vernacular poems in Harley 2253 four contain elements of the "chanson d'aventure."

In one of these lyrics, number X as published by Thomas Wright, the poet meets a maid and is dazzled by her beauty and rich dress; he wonders concerning her lineage.² At his questioning she dismisses him much in the manner of the little French shepherdess and peremptorily bids him "go his gates." The "Song of the Five Joys," number XXXIV, is a religious "chanson d'aventure"; the poet, as he rides along, meditates on the Virgin, "suetest of alle thinge"; the time of the action is "this ender day" and the place "by grene wode":

As y me rod this ender day,
By grene wode to seche play,
Mid herte y thohte al on a may,
suetest of alle thinge.

In another "chanson d'aventure," lyric XXX, the poet grieves over his folly:

From Petresbourh in o morewenyng
As y me wende omy pleyzyng,
on mi folie y thohte,
Menen y gon my mournyng
To hire that ber the hevene kyng,
of merci hire by-sohte.

This poem is noteworthy for the charm of the unusual autumn setting. Lyric XX, also a "chanson d'aventure" and apparently by the same author, contains very similar lines:

² In this paper the lyrics of the manuscript will be designated by the numbers used by Thomas Wright in his *Specimens of Lyric Poetry*, printed for the Percy Society by T. Richards, London, 1842.

This ender day in o morewenyng,
With dreri herte ant gret mournyng,
on mi folie y thohte.
One that is so suete a thing,
That ber Jesse the hevene kyng,
merci y besohte.

According to Provençal convention only the noble in heart were capable of feeling love; the "vilain" or man of unworthy conduct had no conception of what it meant. Love was always a free gift and could be won only by a worthy subject who had served humbly, patiently, and well; and it could be inspired only by a worthy woman; the troubadours often designated her as the "worthiest of all women." In accordance with the psychology of the period, love was portrayed as a disease that had devastating effects on the health of the lover and, if not cured by the kiss of the loved woman or by the granting of her favor, might result in his death. The symptoms of love were usually given in detail: the lover was unable to sleep and tossed all night; he grew pale and thin; he was melancholy and thought constantly of the loved woman; he suffered cruelly from love-longing and expressed his pain with sighs, groans, tears, and trembling; he turned hot and cold at the sight of his lady, or became as awkward and inarticulate in her presence as a child. The troubadour often spoke of love as a prison or as a chain that held the lover fast, and yet he not infrequently rejoiced in his prison and in his pain. Besides faithful service, the lover owed implicit obedience to his lady as well as protection from the evil tongues of gossips. Because of the need of secrecy he used the "senhal" to celebrate her worth and beauty lest her identity be discovered. For the same reason their meetings were secret; she could not openly show him favor but often, at times apparently to disarm the suspicion of gossips, treated him with neglect or even cruelty. Although the poet occasionally sang of the joys of possession, he not infrequently declared that a kind glance or a word would be reward enough for his long service. It was customary for the Provençal poet to beg for a kiss from his lady or for the granting of her favor in the most abject language.

We find the same fundamental conception of love, of the lady and of the lover in the lyrics of Harley 2253. The theme, however, is modified in some of the songs of divine love.

In lyric XXIX the lover of Jesus is unable to sleep and grieves through the night; he sighs and laments and dwells in thought on the sweetness and goodness of Jesus, his "lemmon." The same note of mystical passion for Jesus, the lover of mankind, is found in lyrics

XVIII, XIX, XXVIII and XXXVI; they all celebrate Jesus who was "meoke, milde & good." Their language might as well have been borrowed from the Latin hymns or from patristic writings as from contemporary amorous poetry. Other of the Harleian religious lyrics, however, seem to have been definitely impregnated with the doctrines of courtly love. This is particularly true of lyrics XXI and XXV.

In the former the poet speaks of his love-longing that, though it is pain, is at the same time joy:

A suete love-longynge
myn herte thourh out stong,
Al for a love newe,
That is so suete ant trewe,
that gladieth al my song;
Ich wot al myd i-wisse
My joie ant eke my blisse
on him is al y-long.

The latter is couched in the most ardent language. The word "sweet" and its derivatives occur twenty-one times.³ Jesus possesses the knightly attributes of generosity and love and asks only loyal service from his vassal who expresses his love for his liege lord with tears and laments. Of course, much of this is in accordance with the teaching of the Scriptures; nevertheless, the poet goes farther than such teaching when he addresses his lord thus:

Jesu, of love soth tocknyng,
Thin armes spredeth to mankynde,
Thin heved down boweth to suete cussinge,
Thin side al openeth to love-longynge.

And again:

Jesu, mi soule is spoused to the,
Ofte ych habbe mis-don asenes the,
Jhesu, thi merci is wel fre,
Jhesu, merci y crie to the.

The language here is undeniably that of courtly love. In the justly famous "Blessed be thou, levedi, ful of hevene blisse," number XXXIII, the poet of erotic mysticism sighs, sorrows, and pleads with Mary for mercy, much as the troubadour pleaded for his lady's pity.

In two other lyrics to the Virgin the attitude of the English poet towards his Heavenly mistress is essentially the same as that of the courtly singer towards his secular lady.⁴ The main difference is that

³ The overuse of the word was characteristic of courtly writers. Almost any poem by Marie de France will illustrate this.

⁴ Thomas Wright, *op. cit.*, Numbers XXX, XXXIV.

the latter sings of a love that brings sleeplessness, grief, and pain, while the former sings of a Heavenly love that brings rest and comfort:

With al mi lif y love that may,
He is mi solas nyht ant day,
My joie ant eke my beste play,
 ant eke my love-longynge;
Al the betere me is that day
 that ich of hire synge.

And again:

Of alle thinge y love hire mest
My dayes blis, my nihtes rest.

The secular poet sings repeatedly of the curative power of his lady's kiss. The poet of erotic mysticism finds that the Virgin possesses a sovereign cure for suffering:

Betere is hire medycyn,
Then eny mede or eny wyn;

Nis ther no leche so fyn,
Oure serewes to bete.

Mary, as Queen of Heaven, naturally receives the adoration and loving service of her vassal; nevertheless, the language in which the poet of divine love vows his loyal service to his spiritual liege-lady is highly reminiscent of that of the singer of courtly love:

Ant ever serven hire y shal,
 nou ant al my lyve.

When we examine the secular lyrics of Harley 2253 we find the poet's conception of love and all that it entails to be even closer to such portrayal in Provençal song. Like the heroine celebrated by the troubadours, Alysoun is the worthiest of all women:

In world nis non so wyter mon
 þat al hire bounte telle con

Her lover tosses all night, grows thin and wan, and suffers the pains of love:

Nihtes when y wende & wake
for-þi myn wonges wakeþ won
 leuedi, al for þine sake
longinge is ylent me on.

And again:

Icham for wowing al forwake,
wery so water in wore.

He is held by the bonds of love as truly as were Peire Vidal and Bernard de Ventadour:

Icham in hire baundoun.

Like them he rejoices in his state and vows his devotion:

An heny hap ichabbe yhent,
ichot from heuene it is me sent,
from alle wymmen mi loue is lent,
& lyht on Alysoun.

And Alysoun, like the lady of Provençal song, rewards her lover with a kindly glance:

Wiþ lossum chere he on me loh.

The lover of Alysoun declared that no one in the world could tell the worth of his lady. In lyric XIV the poet maintains that the lady he praises is the best from Ireland to India; in XXXII he informs us that there is no fairer maid

bituene lyncolne & lyndeseye, norhamptoun ant lounde.

Such declarations were commonplaces with the troubadours; Bernard de Ventadour uses the device repeatedly.

Lyric XXII has almost all of the elements of Provençal song. There is the spring opening with flowers and birds; the poet suffers so deeply for love that he is wan and it is as though a spear pierced his heart; and he has served faithfully for love; he begs for the reward of one word, one kiss to heal his pain:

Sute lemmon, y preye þe of loue one speche;
whil y lyue in world so wyde oþer nulle y seche.
wiþ þy loue, my suete leof, mi blis þou mihtes eche;
a suete cos of þyn mouþ be my leche.

In lyric XI the poet dramatically asks how he can sing when his heart is so full of grief. He says that he has served his lady well and she afflicts him, that he is her friend and she his foe; in his bitterness he exclaims:

Heo me wol to dethe bryng,
longe er my day.

Then without a transition he cries in tenderness:

Gret hire wel, that swete thyng,
with eþen gray.

All these themes—the poet's inability to sing because of his pain, the declaration that he is his lady's friend though she is his foe, the sudden change from a wail of pain to a cry of joy as the poet thinks of his lady's loveliness—are constantly found in Provençal song.

Like Bernard and certain other troubadours the English poet bewails the cruel necessity of keeping his love a secret:

Nys no fur so hot in helle,
 al to mon
 That loveth derne ant darnout telle
 whet him ys on.

Lyric IX is remarkable for the detailed description of the heroine's beauty which is amazingly true to the tradition of courtly continental verse. In the usual fashion the poet laments that he is near death for love. The whole lyric is permeated with yearning for possession:

He myhte sayen that Crist hym se3e,
 That nyhte myhtes neh hyre le3e,
 hevene he hevede here.

One statement in the lyric is so characteristic of Bernard de Ventadour that it might have been lifted bodily out of one of his lyrics:

Me were levere kepe hire come,
 Then beon pope ant ryde in Rome
 stythes upon stede.

In lyric XLI the poet meditates on his lady whom he does not often see. The troubadour was often separated from his lady and could communicate with her only in thought or by a message sent by a trustworthy friend. The English poet says:

Euer & oo, for my leof icham in grete þohte,
 y þenche on hire þat y ne seo nout ofte.

He suffers cruelly for love:

Loue dreccheþ me þat y ne may lyue na more.

This lyric is entirely in accordance with the tradition of courtly love: the lady is high-born; she lives in a tower "wyþ hapeles & wyþ heowes"; she treats her lover with cruelty; and he, kneeling before her, pleads for her mercy, and begs her not to heed the words of gossips, and he refers to himself as her man.

Adoun y fel to hire anon
 ant crie, 'ledy þyn ore!
 ledy, ha mercy of þy mon!
 lef þou no false lore,
 3ef þou dost, hit wol me reowe sore.

The poet pities the man who is unable to win the woman he loves and reiterates the importance of loyalty in love—a theme dear to the southern singers. In one place he says:

wo is him þat loueþ þe loue þat þer nul be trewe
and in another

whose loueþ untrewe, his herte is selde séete

In lyric VII the poet tells us that love longing is driving him mad; he laments and groans and begs his mistress, the "leuedy of alle londe" to release him from the bonds of love or he will die of his misery. Like the troubadours he vows loyal service to her even though she has treated him cruelly. He ranks her among the most intelligent and beautiful of women. He sings of the joys of possession:

heuene y tolde al his,
þat o nyht were hire gest.

The same themes are used in lyric XXXI, which is a "dispute," a popular Provençal form. The poet laments his love-wounds, and declares he will go mad unless his lady helps him. Also, like the continental poet, he questions the wasting of his life.

whil y wes clerc in scole, wel muchel y couþe of lore;
ych haue þoled for þy loue woundes fele sore.
fer from (bour) & eke from men, vnder þe wode-gore,
Sute ledy, þou rewe of me—nou may y no more.

And again:

Sorewe & syke y drery mod byndeþ me so faste
þat y wene to walke wod 3ef hit me lengore laste
my serewe, my care, al wiþ a word he myhte away caste
whet helpeþ þe, my suete lemmon, my lyf þus forte gaste?

In some ways lyric XVI is one of the most interesting in the Harleian collection. The heroine is depicted as a woman of high position, a "menskful maiden of myht"; she is of great personal worth, for she is good, noble, generous, and loyal; the poet tells us that in all the land there was never a more beautiful woman and no better woman had ever been praised in song; in order to give a vivid picture of her worth he calls the roll of jewels and flowers:

Heo is coral of godnesse,
heo is rubie of rhytfulnesse,
heo is cristal of clannesse
ant baner of bealte,
heo is lillie of largesse,
heo is paruenke of prouesse,
heo is solsecle of suetnesse
ant ledy of lealte.

In these few lines the English poet has summed up the "courteous" attributes of the heroine of Provençal song, namely: worth, beauty, generosity, graciousness, and loyalty. The poet is so overcome by this paragon of perfection that in despair he appeals to Love to try his case; he declares that the lady has taken his heart and her three knights

syking, sorewyng, & þoht,
þo þre me han in bale broht
a3eyn þe poer of péés.

He says that Sighing has pursued him, that Thought has threatened him and that Sorrow would bring him to death. Love, like a good judge, listens to "vch word" and gives the decision. The close of the poem, a summary of the poet's sad case, continues true in tone and metaphor to troubadour tradition:

for hire loue y carke ant care,
for hire loue y droupne ant dare,
for hire loue my blisse is bare
ant al ich waxe won;
for hire loue in slep y slake,
for hire loue al nyht ich wake,
for hire loue mournyng y make
More þen eny mon.

The whole situation is a picture in early Middle English lyricism of the love-court which was famous in France and which had been instituted there by the troubadours.

Besides the love-court the Harleian lyrics contain a number of conventions that were troubadour commonplaces. Among them are the conventional opening and closing prayers, the poet's call for attention, and his announcement of his subject. The above devices, characteristic of the metrical romances, are found in the religious poems of the manuscript. One of the most attractive devices of the troubadours, the nature setting, is used very effectively in a number of the poems. In the Provençal songs the setting was usually spring and the details noted by the poet were singing birds, leaves, and flowers; sometimes, however, an autumn or even a winter scene was portrayed. The troubadour poet used his setting with considerable variety and charm: at times he saw in the spring day a reflection of his own happiness; at other times he saw in the cheerful scene a sharp contrast between Nature's joy and his own gloom. Again he saw in an autumn or winter scene a reflection of his grief or, because of his inner happiness, he saw "roses blooming in the snow and clear weather in a cloudy sky."

In lyric XIII of the Harleian collection there is a note of exuberance in the poet's joyous appreciation of nature:

Lenten ys come wiþ loue to toune,
 wiþ blosmen & wiþ briddes roune,
 þat al þis blisse bryngeþ;
 dayes-e3es in þis dales,
 notes suete of nyhtegales,
 vch foul song singeþ.
 þe þrestelcok him þreteþ oo;
 away is huere wynter woo,
 when woderoue springeþ.
 þis foules singeþ ferly fele,
 ant wlyteþ on huere wynter wele,
 þat al þe wode ryngeþ.

In another effective lyric, XIV, the English poet, like his continental prototype, sees his own emotions reflected in the joyous life of nature—the animals playing, the leaves, the blossoms, the women that are so lovely in the spring:

In may hit murgeþ when hit dawes
 In dounes wiþ þis dueres plawes,
 Ant lef is lyht on lynde;
 blosmes bredeþ on þe bowes,
 al þis wylde wyhtes woves
 so wel ych vnder-fynde.
 ynot non so freoli flour
 ase ladies þat beþ bryht in bour,
 wiþ loue who mihte hem bynde.

Identical in tone with the spring opening of the secular love-lyric is that of a springtide religious song:

Somer is comen & winter gon,
 þis day biginniþ to longe,
 & þis foules euerichon
 Ioye hem wit songe.

Another happy love-song to Jesus begins:

Nv yh she blostme sprynge,
 hic herde a fuheles song.
 a swete longinge
 myn herte þureþhut sprong
 þat is of luue newe.

A spring song to the Virgin begins:

Nu þis fules singet hand maket hure blisse
 and þat gres up þringet and leued þe ris;
 of on ic wille singen þat is makeles.

Although several of the lyrics of erotic mysticism in Harley 2253 have the nature setting, less is made of it than in the secular lyrics. It is true that the epithet of the flower is applied to Mary, but its use is liturgical; in the hymns and missals of the period her name was associated with lilies and roses; she was often called the "rose without a thorn."

Among the secular lyrics of the Harleian collection the most pleasing use of nature as the background for joyous youth and love is found in *Alysoun*:

Bytuene mersh & aueril
when spray biginneþ to springe,
þe lutel foul haþ hire wyl
on hyre lud to synge.

This spring opening is strikingly similar in tone to those of the more sincere troubadour songs. The reader has only to compare it with the nature settings of Bernard de Ventadour to be convinced of the extent to which the early Middle English poet had assimilated the literary ideals of his continental brother poets.

Though many of the Provençal lyrics portrayed a poet whose joy found an echo in the exuberance of nature, some of them depicted a joyous scene and, in contrast, a poet who was sad through failure of success in love. The Harleian lyric XXXII has just such a motif: a bird is singing in the wood in April; the grass is green and flowers are blooming, but the poet sorrows for love. In lyric XXI a conventional spring scene again serves as a background for love-longing.

Like the troubadour the English poet sometimes contrasts his gaiety with a bleak autumn or winter day or else sees his bitterness reflected in a dreary landscape. The poet who shouts to the wind to blow is happy in spite of the raging storm:

Blow, northerne wynd,
sent þou me my suetyng;
blow, northerne wynd,
Blou! blou! blou!

In one of the most attractive of the Harleian lyrics the keynote of sadness is struck in a single line that evokes an autumn scene:

Nou skrynkeþ rose & lylie flour.

In lyric XX the winter scene supplies an excellent background for the gloomy mood of the poet:

Wynter wakenep al my care,
nou þis leues waxep bare;
ofte y sike & mourne sare.

In connection with the nature setting it is perhaps worthwhile to mention the bird motif in Provençal and Middle English lyricism. The nightingale was dear to French poets, for he was the harbinger of spring in France. Peire d'Auvergne asks the nightingale to act as a messenger of love to his lady. Bernard de Ventadour wishes he could send a bird messenger of love to his lady's private room. Something of the same sort is found in Harleian lyric XI:

Ich wolde ich were a prestlecok,
a bountying oþer a lauerok,
 swete bryd!
bituene hire curtel ant hire smok
 y wolde ben hyd.

In another lyric beginning "Ichot a burde in a bour" the English poet calls the roll of birds when he describes his love; he says:

to trewe tortle in a tour y telle þe mi tale;

and finally declares of his sweetheart:

Hire nome is in a note of þe nyhtegale.

All this recalls to the reader that in one of the pastorals of Bartsch's collection the birds gather around the heroine and sympathize with her, and the nightingale acts as the spokesman of love. In the *Roman de la Rose* we are told there are three times as many birds in the garden of love as in all the kingdom of France. Birds have been associated with love from the time of the pagan Latin poets; that which is remarkable in Middle English lyricism is not their appearance, but that the motif is handled in practically the same way as by the French poets.

Of all the conventions common to Middle English and Provençal lyricism the most obvious, perhaps, is the description of the loved woman's beauty. In French courtly love poetry the ideal of feminine beauty was a blonde with fair white skin, a brilliant complexion, gray eyes, arched brows, a well-shaped nose, a small lovely mouth, a slender throat, and a graceful body. The poet took care not to give the impression that his heroine was thin, for he often stated that she was slender and at the same time plump. Sometimes he mentioned that her breath was sweet. In the Provençal lyrics the loved woman was always represented as sweet and usually gay or smiling; she was also courteous, that is, she had the demeanor befitting noble birth. The heroines of the French pastorals and romances were of the same general type, though occasionally a brunette was represented as successful in love. When the Middle English poet catalogues his lady's charms he varies little

from the pattern set by the continental poet. In lyric XXXII he contents himself with praising the fair beauty of the loved woman:

Heo is þat feirest may
of vch ende of hire kunne.

In lyric VII he sketches the picture of his sweetheart in a few rapturous phrases:

Lylie-whyt hue is
hire rode so rose on rys
.
brihtest vnder bys.

The author of lyric XII pays gallant tribute to all fair women; his extravagant praise is quite in accord with the traditions of courtly love.

A definite personality is evoked in lyric XI; according to the accepted convention of the period the poet is wounded through the eyes:

Hyre heze haueþ wounded me ywisse,
hire bende browen, þat bringeþ blisse,
hire comely mouth þat mihte cusse,
in mucche murþe he were.

He compares his lady's fair beauty with a pearl set in gold; the picture possesses a delicate, sensuous beauty:

A wayle whyt ase whalles bon,
A grein in gold þat goodly shon.

In lyric V the poet compares his lady's beauty with the beryl, sapphire, jasper, garnet, ruby, coral, diamond, and other precious gems. In his rapture he calls the roll of all that is lovely and bright; he can find no figure too extravagant; he compares her with the lily and rose and other flowers.⁵ In lyric IX the poet declares his lady's loveliness is like sunshine and flowers:

Ase sonnebem hire bleo ys briht.
in vche lond heo leomeþ liht
þourh tale, as mon me tolde.
þe lylie lossum is ant long,
wiþ riche rose and rode among
a fyld her fax to folde

The effect of her beauty is similar to that of light:

Ase a launterne a-nyht
hire bleo blykyeþ so bryht
so feyr heo is ant fyn.

⁵ Among the troubadours Peire Vidal had said his lady's face was like a rose.

And again:

Hire hed when ich bihelde apon
 þe sonnebeem aboute noon
 me þohte þat y seȝe.

The figure is of peculiar interest, because the Provençal singers used the figure to portray the effect of beauty. Cercamon said of his lady that when the universe grew dark, where she was light would be shining. Rigaut compared his lady to the morning star.

The lyric celebrating the beauty of Alysoun is made interesting by a touch of individuality; the poet does not dwell on her blond beauty and "ezen gray"; instead he tells us that she is "fayr ynoh" and that her eyes are black. However, she conforms to the traditional type in that she is slender and graceful and

Hire swyre is whittore þen þe swon

The "fairy of ribbesdale" is slender, graceful, and fair:

Heo haþ a mete myddel smal
 body & brest wel mad al,
 as feyne wiþ oute fere;
 eyþer side soft ase sylk
 whittore þen þe moren mylk
 wiþ leofly liht on lere.

The heroine in lyric XVI has long, beautiful hair, and a fair forehead and face; the poet adds tenderly:

wiþ lossum eye grete ant gode
 wiþ browen blysfyl vnder hode.

Her fingers are lovely and her arms and shoulders are "as mon wolde." In none of the songs is the lady's beauty described in such full detail as in lyric IX in which the heroine has a white brow, white cheeks tinged with red, white even teeth, fair slender throat, and hands that are like "þe lylie white lef." Her eyes are large and gray;

Hire neose ys set as hit wel semeþ;

and

Hire chyn ys chosen, & eyþer cheke
 whit ynoh & rode on eke
 ase rose when hit redes.

Her beauty affects her lover like a breath of perfume:

Hire speche as spices spredes.

.

As baum ys hire bleo.

The lady who is thus described as a perfect gem is given a proper setting for her beauty: her dress is rich; the girdle is of beaten gold set with rubies and emeralds and is clasped with a white buckle

þe bocle is al of whalles bon,
þer wiþ inne stont a ston,
þat warneþ men from wo.

The picture is a sensuous one; as we have seen, there are many references to the senses of sight, hearing, smell, and touch. The poet's love for his lady finds expression in an impassioned picture developed by means of many realistic details and crowned with a touch of the supernatural—the lady has a jewel “þat warneþ men from wo.”

Perhaps no more conclusive evidence of Provençal influence on the vernacular lyrics of Harley 2253 can be found than in a device so mechanical as the rhyme-schemes. As a basis for comparison I had at hand only the collections of Provençal lyrics by Carl Appel, Bartsch, and Crescini, and a few editions of individual poets such as Appel's *Bernard de Ventadour* and Jeanroy's *Peire Vidal*. Even so, I found that every one of the forty vernacular Harleian lyrics showed definite metrical relationships with the Provençal. Twenty of them reproduced rhyme-schemes identical with those used by the Provençal poets Bernard de Ventadour, Giraut de Cabreira, Macabrun, Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Peire Vidal, Peire d'Auvergne, Peirols, and Bertran de Born. Four others reproduced Provençal rhyme-schemes with slight variations. Among the lyrics for which I found no Provençal prototypes there were Provençal characteristics, such as the interlacing of rhymes.

The English vernacular lyrics of Harley 2253 show clearly the source of their origin; they seem to breathe the very spirit of troubadour song and yet there is a difference. They are by no means slavish imitations, for a change of emphasis in the borrowed subject-matter or a variation of the theme makes the lyric an original creation. I believe the Provençal songs had become so much the vogue in England that the English poet became imbued with their music and with the ideas and conventions they contained and so shaped his lyrics after the same general pattern. Add to this his different background and the fact that his national literary heritage as it must have persisted in the songs of the people, meagre though it may have been, was something different from that of the French poets, and the result is a body of lyrics that surprise us by their utter unlikeness to Anglo-Saxon poetry, and by their amazing similarity to and subtle difference from the continental verse that inspired them.

DANTE AND HONORIUS OF AUTUN

OLIVER M. JOHNSTON

Stanford University

Chapter XVI in book III of the *De Monarchia* is the key to the structure of the Divine Comedy. It contains the argument on which the poet bases his need of two guides through the realms of eternity. As man partakes of both the perishable and the imperishable, there exists for him a twofold end, the happiness of this life, which consists in the activity of his natural powers, and the happiness of eternal life, which consists in the enjoyment of the countenance of God. In order to achieve these two ends he needs two kinds of knowledge. For the attainment of happiness in the present life, he must follow the teachings of philosophy, and for the attainment of eternal happiness, he must follow revelation or spiritual teachings, which transcend human reason:

Duos igitur fines Providentia illa inenarrabilis homini proposuit intendendos: beatitudinem scilicet huius vitae, quae in operatione propriae virtutis consistit, et per terrestrem Paradisum figuratur; et beatitudinem vitae aeternae, quae consistit in fruitione divini aspectus ad quam propria virtus ascendere non potest, nisi lumine divino adiuta, quae per Paradisum coelestem intelligi datur.

Ad has quidem beatitudines, velut ad diversas conclusiones, per diversa media venire oportet. Nam ad primam per philosophica documenta venimus, dummodo illa sequamur, secundum virtutes morales et intellectuales operando. Ad secundam vero per documenta spiritualia, quae humanam rationem transcendunt, dummodo illa sequamur secundum virtutes theologicas operando, Fidem, Spem, scilicet et Caritatem.¹

Dante then states that a twofold directive agent is necessary for man, in accordance with the twofold end; the Supreme Pontiff to lead him to eternal life by means of revelation, and the Emperor to guide him to temporal happiness by means of philosophic instruction. In the *Divine Comedy* the two kinds of knowledge necessary for the guidance of man are represented by Virgil and Beatrice, the former symbolizing philosophy or reason guides him to happiness in this life, and the latter representing revelation guides him to eternal bliss.

The purpose of this article is to call attention to the fact that the distinction between the two ends of man and the knowledge necessary for

¹ *De Monarchia*, III, 16, 43-63.

the attainment of each was known long before the time of Dante. Honorius² of Autun says man is placed in a valley of tears and that he ascends to Paradise (*patria*) by means of a stair, the two steps of which are *scientia* (knowledge for this life) and *sapientia* (knowledge for the future life);

In valle lacrymarum, imo in lacu miseriae sumus constituti; de qua ad altum supernae patriae montem per quamdam scalam sumus acensuri. Haec scala est charitas, quam copulat sanctarum Scripturarum auctoritas: hujus gradus sunt scientia et sapientia. Scientia, quae nos praesentis vitae instruit actionem; sapientia, quae docet aeternae vitae contemplationem. Scientia, quae nos Scripturis instruit mysterium Christi humanitatis; sapientia, quae docet majestatem ejus divinitatis.

Again Honorius³ says:

Sicut populo Dei exilium erat in Babylonia, Jerusalem vero patria, sic interioris hominis exilium est ignorantia, patria autem sapientia. . . . De hoc exilio ad patriam via est scientia, scientia enim in rebus physicis: sapientia vero consideratur in divinis.

A distinction between the use of *scientia* and *sapientia* similar to that noted in the passages quoted from Honorius is also found in *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum et Antiquorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum* (Vol. 14, 454, B): "Unde quidam doctorum inter sapientiam et scientiam hoc esse sanxerunt, dicentes sapientiam ad contemplationem futurae vitae pertinere, scientiam vero ad usum temporalium, ut his bene utamur."

Both Dante and Honorius distinguish between the knowledge necessary for guidance in this life and that needed for the future life. In his journey from the dark forest to Paradise Dante is guided by philosophy represented by Virgil, and by revelation symbolized by Beatrice. Honorius⁴ says man ascends from the valley of tears to heaven (*patria*) by means of *scientia* and *sapientia*, "scientia, quae nos praesentis vitae instruit actionem; sapientia, quae docet aeternae vitae contemplationem," and that the stair by which he ascends is *charitas*. The importance given to *charitas* in this passage is significant because the standard adopted by Dante for ranking the souls in Paradise is the degree of their charity.⁵ The similarities in the thought of the two authors already men-

² See "Scala Coeli Major," Caput II, in J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1895), Vol. 172, pp. 1230-31.

³ "De Animae Exilio et Patria," in Migne, *op. cit.*, p. 1243.

⁴ "Scala Coeli Major," in Migne, *op. cit.*, p. 1231.

⁵ Compare "Paradise," III, 70-85; G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l'ordine del 'Paradiso' Dantesco* (Firenze, 1912), Vol. II, Sec. II; Henri Hauvette, *Dante, Introduction à l'étude de la Divine Comédie* (Paris, 1912), p. 267.

tioned together with the fact that there are other ideas in the Divine Comedy for which certain passages in Honorius furnish a satisfactory explanation leads one to believe that Dante knew and used the works of Honorius. In "Inferno," X, 103-105, Farinata says the lost spirits have no knowledge of present events on earth:

Quando s'appressano, o son, tutto e vano
Nostro intelletto; e s'altri non ci apporta,
Nulla sapem di vostro stato umano.

In an article entitled "Amount of Knowledge Attributed to the Spirits in Dante's Inferno,"⁶ I called attention to a similar statement by Honorius: "Quae vero in inferno sunt, non plus norunt qui hic agatur, quam vivi sciunt quid ibi geratur."⁷ Further evidence of Dante's indebtedness to Honorius is seen in an article by Professor J. S. P. Tatlock on "The Last Cantos of the Purgatorio," in which he calls attention to the striking resemblance between the allegorical explanation of the ceremonial of the mass and the pageant in "Purgatory," XXIX-XXXIII.⁸ Regarding these resemblances, Professor Tatlock says:⁹ "Honorius seems the original author of the fully developed allegory, and portrays the procession most picturesquely and as likest Dante's. He is the most promising and useful for illustrating Dante." Again he says:¹⁰ "An observer of a pontifical mass, with his mind's eye on Honorius' significations, would see something almost identical with Dante's Procession."

⁶ *Romanic Review*, XXV, 223.

⁷ *Elucidarium*, p. 1162.

⁸ *Modern Philology*, XXXII, 113-23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *MANUEL DES PECHIEZ*

CHARLTON G. LAIRD

University of Idaho, Southern Branch

The *Manuel des Pechiez* provides a revealing survey of the social and theological ideas of the thirteenth century; it is a monument of Anglo-Norman literature, and it is fundamental for our understanding of the most significant collection of tales in English before Chaucer, the *Handlyng Synne* of Robert Mannyng of Brunne.¹ Accordingly, a reliable text of the *Manuel* is important for study in several fields. It has been tacitly assumed that in Furnivall's printings² we have such a text, but an examination of the manuscripts does not support this assumption. The *Manuel* exists in at least twenty-five manuscripts,³ which vary so

¹ My own interest in the *Manuel* grows out of an intent to form a literary estimate of Mannyng. Such an estimate has been attempted in Alfred Kunz' *Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Handlyng Synne verglichen mit der anglonormannischen Vorlage, William of Wadington's Manuel des Pechiez* (Dissertation: Königsberg, 1913), but Kunz' otherwise careful work was damaged by his assumption that Mannyng used a manuscript essentially represented by our printed text. It will be clear that a number of unpublished manuscripts described below are closer to the *Handlyng Synne* than is our printed text; until we know essentially what Mannyng had before him when he wrote, we cannot identify his contributions, nor can we estimate the character and importance of his work.

² The *Manuel* has been printed twice: Frederick J. Furnivall, *Robert of Brunne's "Handlyng Synne," A.D. 1303, with those Parts of the Anglo-French Treatise on which it was founded, William of Wadington's "Manuel des Pechiez,"* Early English Text Society (EETS), Orig. Ser., Nos. 119, 121; ———, *Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne with the French Treatise on which it is founded, le Manuel des Pechiez by William of Wadington* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 1862; referred to below as Rox.). Neither text can be called an edition. For the Roxburghe Club, Furnivall printed the entire poem, using Harley 273 through line 10330 (EETS numbering) and finishing from Harley 4657. For the EETS text, he used the same manuscripts, but printed only those parts of the poem that had been used as a basis for the *Handlyng Synne*. The manuscript not used for the text was employed for variants. Thus we have clear evidence as to the contents of two manuscripts, but do not have one printed entire. The Anglo-Norman Text Society promises a critical edition at the capable hands of Professor E. J. Arnould.

³ The identification began nearly a century ago with *Essais historique sur les bardes et les jongleurs et les trouvères normand et anglo-normand* (Caen, 1854), III, 232. Paul Meyer added to the list in *Romania*, VIII (1879), 332–334; XV (1886), 312–313, 348–349, 351; XXIX (1900), 47–53; XXXII (1903), 145–147; XXXVI (1907), 111. Johan Vising in his *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature*, Language and Literature Series (London, 1923) knew only sixteen manuscripts. J. A. Herbert added to the list with his *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1910), III, 272–303. Miss Hope Emily Allen identified a translation; see *MP*, XIII (1916), 167–168. By making use of these accumulations, and by adding one title, Professor E. J. Arnould was able to list twenty-two manuscripts; see *Romania*, LXIII (1937), 238–240. He did not at that time know the Leeds or the Vatican manuscript, and through no fault of his, could not locate that at Cheltenham.

widely in the matter they include, and in the order in which they present it, that we are forced to assume that any one manuscript offers *prima facie* evidence, not of the *Manuel*, but of one stage of the *Manuel*. Since no general study of the manuscripts of the *Manuel* has been attempted,⁴ we do not know how to evaluate the printed text, nor do we know what other forms the poem may have taken. This survey of the manuscripts of the *Manuel* is intended to supply that want, and to provide prolegomena for subsequent studies; these will include a survey of the *Manuel des Pechiez* as a text, and an attempt to establish a sound basis for the study of the *Handlyng Synne*, and for a critical estimate of Robert Mannyng of Brunne. In describing the contents of the manuscripts I shall refer to the Prologue, Books I–IX, and the Epilogue, as these are known in the printed texts.⁵

Of the manuscripts of the *Manuel*, the best known are those in the British Museum, since they are treated in Herbert's *Catalogue*.⁶ We shall need only to extend Herbert's discussion to show relationships with manuscripts not included in his study.

A⁷—Harley 273, British Museum, ca. 1300, probably from Ludlow,

⁴ In *Rom. Rev.*, VIII (1917), 434–462, Miss Allen made excellent use of such material as was available to her during the first World War. Herbert's revealing study was of necessity restricted to manuscripts in the British Museum.

⁵ The term "books" has no authority, but is convenient, having been adopted by Herbert from Cambridge University Mm 6.4, and its use continued by Miss Allen. I shall use line numbering of the EETS edition, except for passages not there printed, since the Roxburghe edition is not readily available in this country. The divisions of the *Manuel* can be identified as follows: Prologue, lines 1–126; Book I (Twelve Articles of the Faith), 127–196 Rox., omitted EETS; Book II (Ten Commandments), 923–3154 (here, as usual, there is some change in numbering as one goes from one edition to the other); Book III (Seven Deadly Sins), 3155–6662; Book IV (Sin of Sacrilege), 6663–7092; Book V (Seven Sacraments), 7093–7956; Book VI (Petit Sermon), 7793–8482 Rox., omitted EETS; Book VII (Lumere Ind. Prologue; Graces, Vices, and Points of Shrift), 8649–10362 EETS plus 11295–11356 Rox.; Book VIII (On the Power of Prayer), 11357–11994 Rox., omitted EETS; Book IX (Prayers to Christ and to Mary), 11995–12699 Rox., omitted EETS; Epilogue, 12700–12755 Rox., omitted EETS. Book VII is complicated, and may warrant special attention. The Lumere Indeficient Prologue is lines 8649–8690; the next division in the manuscript used as the basis of Furnivall's texts is sometimes called the Graces of Shrift, sometimes divided into the Graces and the Vices of Shrift; the whole section occupies 8691–9596 EETS plus 11295–11356 Rox. Of these two divisions, the Graces proper occupy lines 8691–9256, and the Vices occupy the remainder, that is, 9257–9596 EETS plus 11295–11356 Rox. The Points occupy 9605–10362; the disposition of 9597–9604 is uncertain and need not concern us here. The main divisions of the *Manuel* occur in the two printings as follows: Prologue, EETS pp. 1–6, Rox., 1–6; Book I, Rox. 415–425, omitted EETS; Book II, EETS 6–105, Rox. 6–95; Book III, EETS 105–271, Rox. 95–266; Book IV, EETS 274–297, Rox. 266–293; Book V, EETS 297–349, Rox. 294–398; Book VI, Rox. 426–434, omitted EETS; Book VII, EETS (incomplete) 349–396, Rox. 348–396; Book VII by divisions: Lumere Indeficient Prologue, EETS 349–351, Rox. 348–349; Graces and Vices, EETS (incomplete) 371–396, Rox. 370–396; Points of Shrift, EETS 351–370, Rox. 350–369; Book VIII, 396–404, omitted EETS; Book IX, Rox. 404–413, omitted EETS; Epilogue, Rox. 413–414, omitted EETS.

⁶ *Op. cit.*

⁷ I have continued the use of letters adopted by Furnivall, and have added those employed

Shropshire.⁸ This manuscript was used by Furnivall;⁹ the order of material thus becomes the basis for the numbering of books, and for the numbering of tales in Herbert's study.¹⁰ I shall use these numberings throughout. The manuscript is unique in containing lines 31–48, which introduce Book VI and parts of Book VII (Lumere Indeficient Prologue and the Vices), and agrees only with Roy in having lines 21–24 after lines 25–30. It is unique in altering Book I by combining Articles IV and V, and introducing a new Article VII (lines 602–627 Rox.). It agrees with CHmLOV in having the following organization for Book VII: Lumere Indeficient Prologue, Graces and Vices of Shrift, Points of Shrift. The manuscript is unique in containing Tale 7 (lines 1693–1842) and shares Tale 56 (lines 9029–9208) only with L and R. It contains a moderate number of unique readings.

B—Harley 4657, British Museum, early fourteenth century; Yorkshire (?).¹¹ B contains all major divisions in A, and in the same order. The manuscript is unlike A in Book VII, which begins with the Points of Shrift, using 9605–9608 as an introduction; the Lumere Indeficient Prologue follows and introduces the Graces and Vices only. Book VII is thus broken into two parts, the first consisting of the Points, the second of the Lumere Indeficient Prologue, the Graces, and the Vices. In this arrangement of Book VII, B agrees with ArHarJM; certain other manuscripts (EFPPHY) have the material in the same order, but break the book in two and have other matter between the parts. H must have resembled one of these types, but is fragmentary. B resembles F in having a tale inserted after line 3524, and line readings relate B closely to F. A rather large number of the line readings—and thus of the variants in the printed text—are unique or shared only by F. In Book I, Articles Five and Six are transposed.

in my unpublished dissertation, "The Source of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*: A Study of the Extant Manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman *Manuel des Pechiez* (Stanford University, 1940). For convenience I shall list here the symbols for manuscripts in the order in which I shall describe them: A, B, Ar, Roy, H, Har, Hf, Af, R, S, C, E, F, G, J, Hm, L, O, P, Ph, U, V, Y, Z, M.

⁸ The manuscript as a whole is described by H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1883), I, 587–589; the *Manuel* is described by Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 277–284.

⁹ See n. 2, above. Furnivall forsook A at line 10330, where the script changes, supposing that the second hand was later, but Herbert clearly doubts that it is. My study suggests that the manuscript family does not change at this point. See my dissertation, pp. 25, 364–370; I shall hereafter refer to this study (see n. 7, above) as *Manuscripts of the Manuel*.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* Herbert acknowledges indebtedness to Gaston Paris, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXVIII (1881), 179–207, the first study of analogues to the tales, and says that he has reprinted Paris' notes "with a few additions and corrections." This is a modest but by no means accurate description of Herbert's excellent study.

¹¹ Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–288; see also n. 1, above.

Ar—Arundel 288, British Museum, late thirteenth century, provenance unknown.¹² This manuscript gives no evidence of being fragmentary, but lacks Book VI, Book IX, and the Epilogue, a fact which is the more interesting because Ar clearly is one of our oldest manuscripts. It also lacks Tale 11 (lines 2247–2366), agreeing in this with HHfJPhVZ; it lacks a rather large number of briefer passages, and in this lack frequently agrees with the same manuscripts. The order of divisions is that of the printed text, that is: Prologue, Books I–V, Books VII–VIII. Book VII appears as in B. Many passages are lacking from the manuscript; some represent corruptions, but more probably do not. Containing about 9550 lines, Ar is the shortest extant manuscript not obviously fragmentary.

Roy—Royal 20.B.XIV, British Museum, early fourteenth century, probably Southwestern.¹³ It omits Book VI, Book IX, and the Epilogue, and has the remaining books in the order of A.¹⁴ In Book VII it resembles A in having the Graces before the Points, but is unlike it in omitting the Lumere Indeficient Prologue. It has all tales except 7 and 56, and inserts a unique tale for lines 7247–7254.¹⁵ Scribes have treated the text with so much freedom that one is sometimes in doubt whether a group of lines has been altered or completely rewritten. Nevertheless, enough remains to make clear that this manuscript is allied to A, rather than to Ar, which it resembles in containing the Prologue, Books I–V, VII–VIII.¹⁶

Roy has a unique variant for lines 33–48, mentioning Books VII and VIII; Roy is thus the only manuscript to mention Book VIII in the Prologue, and the only manuscript that has a table of contents matching the actual content of the manuscript.

H—Harley 4971, British Museum, fragmentary, early fourteenth

¹² Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 292–295.

¹³ Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), II, 355a–366b; H. L. D. Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 728; Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 297–301.

¹⁴ Some confusion misled Furnivall into asserting that Roy agrees with B in transposing Articles Five and Six of Book I.

¹⁵ The tale, fol. 37a, is unprinted. Cf. *Manuscripts of the Manuel*, pp. 442–443. It tells that “Willam le bles. . . esuesk a Wircester” confirmed a herdsman, who immediately became blind. He said he had been born blind, but “par le mal felun” he obtained “cler vu . . . Par mes nariz.” When the devil was driven out by baptism, he again became blind. The bishop is perhaps William de Blois (1218–1236) of Worcester, since William de Bleys was Bishop of Lincoln.

¹⁶ Miss Allen, without access to the manuscripts, was forced to accept this assumption; *Rom. Rev.*, VIII (1917), 435–460. My tabulated variants make the situation clear; see *Manuscripts of the Manuel*, pp. 430–441.

century; at Bury St. Edmunds in the fifteenth century.¹⁷ The loss of several leaves, perhaps of a quire, has damaged this manuscript at a crucial point, but it is still of great importance. It contains the Prologue and Books I–V as usual; at line 7956 H introduces a poem not otherwise found in the *Manuel*.¹⁸ Within this poem the lacuna begins, and the text does not take up again until line 9258, in the Graces of Shrift. After the Graces and Vices is Book VIII, then the Epilogue, and the manuscript closes with Book IX, which here takes a restricted form, reducing the prayer to Christ to some 110 lines.¹⁹ H is here exactly like J, and similar to Ph, which has a restricted Book IX after the Epilogue, but the Epilogue in Ph follows the Points of Shrift, Ph being one of those manuscripts which splits Book VII. In E and F, these 110 lines become a separate work, interposed between the two parts of Book VII; that is, they follow the Points of Shrift.

What has been lost from H? Presumably the Points of Shrift, since no manuscript, except a possible ancestor of V, seems to have lacked this section. If it had the Lumere Indeficient Prologue, it has lost that; if Book VII was broken in two, any inserted matter is also lost. We can say only that the order of material in Book VII was presumably the order of Ar and B, not the order of A. As to Book VI the evidence is inconclusive;²⁰ of the manuscripts closest to H, Ph contains it, and J does not; Ar does not have Book VI, and V seems once to have lacked it.

H omits Tale 11, thus agreeing with ArHfJPhVZ; line readings also relate it to these manuscripts, especially to Ar, and differentiate it sharply from manuscripts resembling A, that is, from the printed text.

Har—Harley 3860, British Museum, fragmentary, early fourteenth century, provenance unknown.²¹ This manuscript is fragmentary in the sense that it contains only Books VII and VIII, but not in the sense that anything appears to have been lost from it. Could one suppose that we have here the original version of an independent work which has been copied into the *Manuel*, Har would be of great importance; and while

¹⁷ Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 288–292.

¹⁸ It was identified as a fragmentary *Deu le omnipotent* by Paul Meyer, *Romania*, XXVI (1897), 111–114, from the complete poem printed by Hermann Suchier, *Bibliotheca Normannica* (Halle, 1879), I, 82–106; in Vising, *op. cit.*, it is Number 23.

¹⁹ The prayer here contains lines 11995–12032, 12045–12070, 12123–12160, plus a few lines not printed.

²⁰ Herbert, relying on a prologue to the *Deu le omnipotent*, which promises "un sarmun," assumed that Book VI had been lost. We need not do so. Roy calls Book VII a "sermun" (fol. 1a, col. 1). E closes the restricted Book IX with a reference to a "sermon" which may be a prayer, the Points of Shrift, or the entire *Manuel*. In line 67, F alters "surnum" to "sarmun" and thus calls the whole work a sermon "des pechiez." Thus we cannot assume that the word "sarmun" in H refers to Book VI, even though that book is called "un sermun" in line 31 of A and in some rubrics.

²¹ Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 296–297.

I do believe that much of the matter in Har was not part of the original *Manuel* I find little evidence that Books VII and VIII as such constitute a unit, and much evidence against the supposition. Book VII here takes the form found in B, and line readings relate the fragment to manuscripts close to B.

Hf—Harley 337, British Museum, fragmentary, early fourteenth century, Canterbury (?).²² Eighteen leaves, somewhat mutilated, testify to the presence of Books II and III. The fragment is unique in transposing the two sins Anger and Envy. It omits Tale 11, agreeing in this with ArHJPhVZ, and the line readings relate the fragment to these manuscripts. Hf seems to have little importance.

Af—Arundel 372, British Museum, fragmentary, early fourteenth century, provenance unknown.²³ These two mutilated leaves have lines indicating the presence of Books III and V. The line readings suggest such manuscripts as BEFHarMPUY. The fragment is not important for our purposes.

Two collections of tales selected from the *Manuel*, R and S, have been capably described.

R—Bodleian 14732, Oxford University (formerly MS. Rawlinson Poetry F241; still earlier, Rawl. misc. 473), early fourteenth century, provenance unknown.²⁴ This manuscript contains some 3900 verses, mostly from the *Manuel*, embodying forty tales,²⁵ which in Herbert's numbering are as follows: 40, 41, 42, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 3, 5, 9, 14, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 31, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 23, 25, 45, 47, 48, 35. The order of the tales is difficult to explain, but becomes somewhat simpler if we notice that there are two main series of tales: 40–64, and 3–48, the latter having some omissions and confusion in order. Perhaps it is best to assume that the manuscript used as a quarry for these tales had been broken in two, and that some leaves were lost and others misplaced in rebinding. I know no other manuscript having this order, and I suppose that the confusion has no importance for our study. Something can be learned from these tales, however. Tale 11, which is lacking from Ar and manuscripts related to it, is present; so is Tale 56, found elsewhere only in A and the closely related L. The order of tales from Book VII (fortunately occurring in the one undisturbed series of tales in these selections) shows the order

²² Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–302.

²³ Herbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 302–303.

²⁴ The collection has been twice described: E. Stengel, "Handschriftliches aus Oxford," *Zeit. f. fr. Sp. u. Lit.*, XIV (1892), 128–135; Paul Meyer, *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 1–84. Stengel describes by tales, Meyer by fragments; both descriptions have value.

²⁵ Since the whole is badly cut up, it is not surprising that Stengel missed two tales, including Tales 62 and 63 under his Number 15, Tales 18 and 19 under his Number 26.

of ACHmLORoyV, not the order of B (58, 59, 60, 61, 55, 57, 62). Thus the tales included, and the order of these tales, both suggest that R is close to A; this hypothesis is supported by the line readings. R does not contain the Prologue, Book VI, the Lumere Indeficient Prologue, Book IX, or the Epilogue, but since these portions contain no tales, R actually offers no evidence for or against the presence of these in its source. It does contain Book VIII entire. The fact that Tales 1 and 2 are lacking might suggest the absence of Book I, but since other tales are omitted as well, no reliance can be placed upon the omission. We know that Books II–V, VII–VIII were included, and that Book VII had the order found in A.

S—Stonyhurst College Library, ca. 1310, provenance unknown, but possibly Northern. These tales had not been identified when I was in England; I rely upon Professor Arnould's excellent description.²⁶ The manuscript is a collection of thirteen tales, with introductions or summaries indicating the presence of three more—2, 3, 5, 6, 15, 17, 26, 32, 40, 41, 42, 45, 50, 51, 53, 57. The collection would seem not to be related to R; it is thus useful as suggesting that at least two compilers valued the tales of the *Manuel* sufficiently to make selections from them. The manuscript used as a quarry for these tales must have contained Books I–V and the Graces of Book VII. Professor Arnould thinks that the manuscript was close to H, and the passages which he cites are also close to Ph and V,²⁷ which were not then known to Professor Arnould. Like ArHHfJPhVZ, S omits Tale 11, but so many other tales are omitted that the evidence is inconclusive.

I turn now to the manuscripts for which no more than notices are available, and I shall first consider those at Cambridge, for which we have the careful notes taken by Paul Meyer.

C—Mm 6.4, Cambridge University, early fourteenth century, provenance unknown.²⁸ This manuscript contains all of the major divisions of the *Manuel* familiar in the printed texts based upon A, and in the same order. It is also like A in its arrangement of Book VII: Lumere Indeficient Prologue, Graces and Vices of Shrift, Points of Shrift. The line readings, also, relate it to the manuscripts resembling A. Meyer thought this "l'un des meilleurs textes qu'on ait," but I must dissent sharply from this judgment. He was speaking, of course, from a cursory examination of the manuscript, and a cursory examination seems to support his opinion. The manuscript is preceded by a long

²⁶ *Romania*, LXIII (1937), 226–240.

²⁷ *Manuscripts of the Manuel*, under H, Ph, S, and V.

²⁸ *Romania*, XV (1886), 348–349.

rubric enumerating the "liveres" of the *Manuel* (though we might notice that this term is not carried through the rubrics), and the manuscript contains many excellent readings not to be found in the printed text. But neither are these readings to be found in any other manuscript. In short, the excellence of C is to be attributed to the ability of some reviser, not to the purity of the text it preserves. No other extant manuscript except Roy has so many unique variants, and like Roy, the text of C has frequently been so augmented and altered that one is at a loss to say when the scribe thought he was improving his copy and when he thought he was writing something quite new. The manuscript offers us a good version of a poem, perhaps of a better poem than the *Manuel*, but it does not offer us a good text of the *Manuel*. When Professor Meyer made his remark he had no way of knowing that the fluency which he observed in the lines of C did not represent an original excellence from which other manuscripts had been corrupted; a comparison of C with other manuscripts, however, makes clear that C represents a text which has undergone extensive, though intelligent, alteration.

E—Ee I. 20, Cambridge University, shortly after 1307, provenance unknown.²⁹ The manuscript includes the Prologue and Books I–VI without large disturbances, and later books in some confusion. From the Prologue are omitted lines 13–17, which introduce Book I. Book VII begins as in B, with the Points of Shrift, but instead of continuing with the book as do ArBHarJM, it jumps to the first part of Book IX, that is, to the restricted form of the prayer to Christ mentioned above in H. In HJPh this short prayer to Christ is followed by the prayer to Mary as it appears in the printed text, but in F it is followed by forty-three lines of devotional material addressed to Christ, seventeen lines of which are to be found also in E. After this passage, E and F return to Book VII, and contain the Lumere Indeficient Prologue, the Graces and Vices. They thus have Book VII in the order of B, though it is broken in two. E has two added peculiarities. The Vices of Shrift end at line 9596; now this is the point at which the *Handlyng Synne* ends with the colophon, "Here endyþ Manuel Pecche," and one might remember that E omits from the table of contents the lines which introduce Book I, a division omitted from *Handlyng Synne*. Not less interesting is the next passage in E, for instead of following the Vices of Shrift with Book VIII as we should expect, E continues with the Points of Shrift, which it has already included, using this matter a second time as far as line 9630, where the book breaks off in the middle of a discussion (fol. 71a). This order of

²⁹ *Romania*, XV (1886), 351; *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 1878, pp. 124–126.

material is curious, since manuscripts to which E clearly is related (ArBFHHfJPPhUY) never have the Points of Shrift after the Graces and Vices. Manuscripts like A (CHmLORoy), on the other hand, regularly have it there; thus one may reasonably suppose that the scribe who added the second part of Book VII was copying from a manuscript having the book in the order of A, and that after finishing the Graces and Vices, he copied on into the Points before he discovered that he had already used this matter once.

After this second start on the Points, E proceeds to Book VIII, which is regular except for the omission of lines 11747–11764. Book IX follows, but those passages already used are scrupulously omitted; that is, it contains lines 12033–12044, 12071–12122, and takes up at 12161. At these points FHJPh show disturbances, but no other manuscript agrees with E in its second form of Book IX. The omission of lines 12190–12341 is unique in E and probably results from an accident. The Epilogue follows Book IX, and has the closing lines in the order of H, which Furnivall printed as a variant, but since E omits the equivalent of lines 12750–12751 it contains no mention of William of Wadington.³⁰

F—167 St. John's College, Cambridge (formerly F. 30), late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, provenance unknown.³¹ This manuscript contains the Prologue, Books I–VI, and like all manuscripts except those related to A, begins Book VII with the Points. Like EPPHY, F breaks Book VII in two, and agrees with E in using a restricted prayer to Christ from Book IX as the intervening matter. After this prayer occurs a devotional passage of forty-four lines, shared in part with E, and then like E, F includes the Graces and Vices, but unlike E, it does not abbreviate the Vices and add the opening of the Points. Books VIII and IX and the Epilogue follow in regular order.

³⁰ A curious variant is that of "honerette" for "vne vile" in line 12740. Miss Allen suggested that the author of the *Manuel* might come from Honerette; unfortunately, this word has not been found as a place name, and the reading is unique among extant manuscripts. See *Rom. Rev.*, VIII (1917), 43. In E, the principal divisions of the *Manuel* begin as follows: Prologue, 1a, col. 1; Book I, 1b, col. 1; Book II, 6b, col. 2; Book III, 20a, col. 2; Book IV, 44a, col. 1; Book V, 46b, col. 2; Book VI, 52a, col. 2; Book VII (Points only), 57a, col. 1; Book IX (short prayer to Christ), 63a, col. 2; Book VII (Prologue, Graces, Vices, a few lines of Points), 64a, col. 2; Book VIII, 71a, col. 1; Book IX (omitting sections used previously), 76a, col. 1; Epilogue, 78b, col. 2; MS. ends, 79a, col. 1.

³¹ *Romania*, VIII (1879), 325–334. Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), Number 167. In F, the principal divisions of the poem begin as follows: Prologue, 84a, col. 1; Book I, 84b, col. 1; Book II, 89b, col. 1; Book III, 102a, col. 2; Book IV, 123b, col. 2; Book V, 126b, col. 2; Book VI, 132b, col. 2; Book VII (Points only), 137a, col. 1; Book IX (restricted form), 140b, col. 2; Book VII (Prologue, Graces, Vices), 141b, col. 2; Book VIII, 147a, col. 1; Book IX (normal version), 151b, col. 2; Epilogue, 156b, col. 2; poem ends, 157a.

The text offered by F is interesting in several respects. It contains a large number of small omissions that clearly result from the carelessness of some scribe. These continue through most of the poem, but are notably absent from Book IX in its second appearance; this condition suggests that the second and more extensive version of Book IX was added from another manuscript after the time of the careless copyist, and that the manuscript tradition represented in F was once briefer than is that manuscript today. Presumably an earlier version would have contained Books I–VI, the Points of Shrift, a restricted version of Book IX, the remainder of Book VII, and Book VIII. Some scribe, not recognizing Book IX in its restricted form, copied in the more extensive Book IX from another manuscript.

The manuscript is interesting, also, because of its close affinity with B in its line readings. The most conspicuous of the variants common only to these two manuscripts is the tale which Furnivall has printed from B (after line 3524), but this tale is only one of hundreds of variants affecting a line or more, and its testimony is supported by thousands of verbal similarities.³² This similarity with B is strong in the earlier books, that is, through Books I–V and the Points of Book VII, but becomes less noticeable in the remainder of Book VII, Book VIII, and Book IX. In the order and content of VII and IX, F resembles EPPHY, and in a measure HJ; it does not closely resemble B. Thus, on another count, one is forced to wonder whether F does not have behind it a composite tradition, relying in its earlier books upon a manuscript close to B, and in its later books on a manuscript related to those extant manuscripts showing a varied order of material in the later books (EHJPPHY). Next to B, F shows greatest affinity with E. Both E and F seem to me composite, and must be discussed in relation to other manuscripts showing disturbances in the later books.

G—Gg I. i, Cambridge University, fragmentary, shortly after 1307, provenance unknown.³³ The manuscript is fragmentary from mechanical causes, containing lines 1–3750, 6669–8421 (Rox.), some 5250 lines testifying to the presence of the Prologue, and Books I–VI. The fragment offers no testimony on the later, irregular books, but since line readings relate G to A one would expect few irregularities. The text offered here is excellent as far as it goes; if it were complete it would

³² *Manuscripts of the Manuel*, pp. 518–525, 535–542.

³³ *Romania*, XV (1886), 283–340. I should judge that the illuminations represent the Peterborough school. In G, the principal divisions of the poem begin as follows: Prologue, 294b, col. 1; Book I, 295a, col. 2; Book II, 300a, col. 1; Book III (fragmentary), 313a, col. 2; Book IV (at line 6669), 317a, col. 2; Book V, 320a, col. 1; Book VI (fragmentary), 325b, col. 1; manuscript ends, 328b, col. 1.

certainly offer the best version of the *Manuel* according to the tradition represented in A. MS. G probably will be useful in a critical edition, but is too fragmentary to be of much service in the present study.

J—197 St. John's College, Cambridge (formerly G. 30), fifteenth century, provenance unknown (Norfolk ?), Middle English prose.³⁴ This is a unique copy of a Middle English prose translation, executed ca. 1400, probably in the Southwest Midlands.³⁵ The translation is so slavish that J can be used in our study almost as though it were written in Anglo-Norman.³⁶ Tale 11 and lines 91–116 are lacking from J; the tale is lacking from ArHPPhVZ, and the lines show disturbance in ArHPPhVYZ. Line variants in the early books relate J to the same series of manuscripts. Books I–V appear as usual, but J is like ArLRoy in omitting Book VI.³⁷ Book VII appears as in ArBHarM, and is followed by Book VIII, the Epilogue, and Book IX, which takes a form intermediate between the printed text and EF, found also in HPh.³⁸ J thus has the later books in the order of H, and line variants here relate J to EFHPh. There are many small omissions, and some large ones,³⁹ so that the prose probably represents less than 10,000 lines of verse. Miss Allen noted that line 121 reads, "Y nel nat telle my name" as though the *Manuel* had been anonymous.⁴⁰

Hm—HM 903, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, late fourteenth century, possibly Northern.⁴¹ It contains the Prologue, with

³⁴ James, *op. cit.*, No. 197.

³⁵ *Mod. Phil.*, XIII (1916), 167–168; *Manuscripts of the Manuel*, pp. 480–495. The principal divisions of J begin as follows: Prologue, 1a; Book I, 1b; Book II, 9b; Book III, 27a; Book IV, 58a; Book V, 62a; Book VII, 68a; Book VIII, 78b; Epilogue, 81b; Book IX, 82a; manuscript ends, 87a.

³⁶ *Manuscripts of the Manuel*, pp. 476–480; I expect to publish a discussion of the translation when microfilm is again available.

³⁷ V probably omitted Book VI, and H may have done so; see n. 20 and the discussion of V below.

³⁸ N. 19, above.

³⁹ Many omissions are shared by ArHVZ. The largest unique loss corresponds to lines 11495–11812, including Tale 63. Lines 2092–2366 are omitted from their usual place but inserted after line 2512; Tale 10 thus appears after Tale 12, Tale 11 being omitted.

⁴⁰ *Rom. Rev.*, XIII (1916), 168. L agrees, reading "Mon noun ne vus uoil a conter." Other manuscripts agree essentially with the printed text, which has, "Mun nun ne vus voil ci nomer."

⁴¹ Seymour de Ricci, *Census of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), I, 77; William H. Robinson, *Catalogue Number 12* (London, 1925), No. 384; *First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1874), p. 45b; *Mod. Lang. Notes*, LV (1940), 601–603. Since the foliation is practicable, I add the collation prepared for me by Captain R. B. Haselden, formerly Curator of Manuscripts, Huntington Library: 2 modern flyleaves; 1, 10; 2–4, 8; 5, 12 (insert between 3 and 4); 6–7, 8; 8, 4; 9–10, 8; 11, 6 (insert between 1 and 2); 12, 8; 13, 6 (insert between 2 and 3); 14–16, 8; 17, 10; 18–21, 8; 22, 8 (insert between 5 and 6); 23, 6; 24, 8; 25, 12 (12 missing). 2 modern flyleaves. Sig. marks 1–i . . . 7–vii, 9–a . . . 17–I, 18–ii . . . 24–viii. In addition to the *Manuel*, Hm contains a version of Robert de Gretham's *Miroir*, incomplete, but with five unique sermons; I shall discuss this portion of the manuscript in a forthcoming article in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*.

all lines except those unique in A, has the nine books in the order found in the printed text, and the Epilogue. Book VII has the order of ACLO, and Book IX appears in the extended form. Thus, in its main divisions Hm resembles ACLORoy, which it resembles also in its line readings. Like most manuscripts, it omits Tales 7 and 56; it is unique in omitting Tale 28. In fact, unique omissions are rather numerous,⁴² and since there are many erasures, Hm is perhaps most interesting as an example of corruption.⁴³

L—1, Leeds University, middle of the fourteenth century, Newburgh, Yorkshire. Of this manuscript, only a notice is available.⁴⁴ Divisions of the *Manuel* occur with the order which they have in the printed text, and are all present except Book VI. Book VII appears as in ACHmO, and Book IX has the extended form of the printed text. The unique Tale 7 is missing, but L agrees with AR in including Tale 56. This suggested affinity with A is borne out by the line readings, but the numerous unique passages in A make unlikely a direct derivation of L from A, and extensive omissions in L preclude its having been the ancestor of A.⁴⁵ These omissions are numerous and often extensive, running to a hundred lines or more. The longer omissions remove tales, and L thus becomes the only extant manuscript except Ph which suggests that a copyist found the tales either offensive

⁴² The most extensive unique omissions involve the following lines: 2037–2060, 4485–4562, 5191–5204, 5255–5294, 11301–11320.

⁴³ In Hm the major divisions of the poem begin as follows: Prologue, 1a; Book I, 1b, col. 1; Book II, 6a, col. 2; Book III, 17b, col. 2; Book IV, 36b, col. 2; Book V, 39a, col. 2; Book VI, 44a, col. 2; Book VII, 48a, col. 2; Book VIII, 58a, col. 1; Book IX, 68a, col. 2; Epilogue, 66b, col. 2; manuscript ends, 67a, col. 1.

⁴⁴ William H. Robinson, Ltd., *Catalogue Number Twelve* (Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1925), p. 39. It is a shapely volume, 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches by 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches, 100 vellum leaves in twelve gatherings of eight and one of four, with gilt edges, bound in stout boards covered with red velvet. It contains only the *Manuel*, here something less than 10,000 lines, written two columns to the page, usually twenty-four lines to the column, in a neat book hand. Initials are blue, dashed with red; there are no illuminations. Rubrics have not been executed, though space was left for them. Professors A. Hamilton Thompson and Paul Barbier were so kind as to examine the script for me. Professor Thompson would have dated it ca. 1350, Professor Barbier somewhat earlier. An inscription connects the manuscript with the Augustinian Priory at Newburgh, Yorkshire, near Coxwold. Recently in the hands of Her Grace the Duchess of York, it was missed in the catalogue of manuscripts at Everingham Park (*First Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, 1874); in 1925 it was purchased by Colonel Sir Edward Allen Brotherton and others for presentation to the University Library, Leeds.

⁴⁵ It is probable that someone involved in the ancestry of L preferred to omit Tales 9, 12, 15, 37, and 38. Lines 1905–2062 account for the loss of more than Tale 9 (lines 1931–2046), but the additional lost lines insist that one may kill spiritually by withholding charity, and may be thought of as introduction and conclusion. Lines 2831–2856 and 5665–5794 correspond to Tales 15 and 38 respectively. Lines 5595–5648 include Tale 37 (lines 5605–5648) and an introduction. From Tale 12 and an introduction (lines 2402–2496) only miscellaneous reflections upon the fidelity of women are included (lines 2493–2496, 2475–2480).

or too numerous, while several redactions imply that the tales were the favored portion of the *Manuel*.⁴⁶ From line 121, L omits the word *ci*; thus, as in J, the poet here refuses unequivocally to tell his name.⁴⁷

O—Greaves 51, Bodleian Library, early fourteenth century, South-western (?).⁴⁸ The manuscript has not been accurately dated, but the script is not later than the early fourteenth century; the book seems to have been in Surrey not long after, but we have no evidence of its origin.⁴⁹ It contains only the *Manuel*, fols. 1–66b, and on fols. 67a–70a, col. 1, a French verse translation of a Latin work variously attributed to Augustine, Bernard, and Anselm.⁵⁰ The change of hand, fol. 69b, seems to have no significance.

O contains the Prologue, nine books in the order of the printed text, and the Epilogue; Book VII takes the order found in ACHmL, and Book IX appears in the extended form. The version in O shows small omissions and additions, but is close to ACGHmLR. Of the tales in A, only 7 and 56 are omitted. Some interest attaches to six lines,⁵¹ unique in this manuscript, in which one Adam le Furches "qe lescrit" asks for prayers. His request immediately follows that of William, who is here called "William de Widindone."⁵²

P—français 14,959 (formerly Supplement français 2635), Bib-

⁴⁶ The collections here called R and S, the *Handlyng Synne*, and *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son* (ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn, Modern Language Association of America Monograph Series, Vol. VI, 1935).

⁴⁷ In L the principal divisions of the *Manuel* occur as follows: Prologue, 1a; Book I, 2a, col. 1; Book II, 10a, col. 1; Book III, 25b, col. 1; Book IV, 57b, col. 2; Book V, 62a, col. 1; Book VII, 70b, col. 2; Book VIII, 89a, col. 1; Book IX, 96a, col. 1; Epilogue, 99b, col. 2; manuscript ends, 100b.

⁴⁸ *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti*, Oxonae, 1647, No. 3832. When I was in Oxford in 1930, the manuscript had not been re-catalogued. It contains seventy leaves, 6¼ inches by 9½ inches, bound between boards covered with white calf, and studded with brass nails painted green. The book hand is clear, written in two columns, about forty-four lines to the column, so that the sixty-six folios of the *Manuel* contain somewhat more than 11,000 lines.

⁴⁹ On the last folio, attached to the binding, is the statement that Johannes de Prohin "prestravit unum palladium in pasco de Cronham" (Croham-Hurst, Surrey?). The same page carries the name, "Dominum Johein Burgeys preceptis." Probably we need not attach importance to the following late inscription: "Author in fin. lib. nomen suum prodit, sc. Guil. Wroindon Congruit tamen per ordinis cum Manuali Rob. Grosthead Episcopus Lincoln."

⁵⁰ Vising, *op. cit.*, No. 95; *Romania*, XV (1886), 309–312; Paul Meyer, *Bulletin de la ancien textes français* (1875), p. 61; (1886), p. 48; it apparently has been printed in Frédéric J. Tanquerey, *Plaintes de la Vierge en anglo-français xiii^e et xiv^e siècles* (Paris, 1922).

⁵¹ Miss Allen noticed the lines, but too late to use them in her treatment of the poem, *Rom. Rev.*, VIII (1917), 434–462. Professor Arnould has printed them, *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, XXXIV (1939), 251.

⁵² The principal divisions in O begin as follows: Prologue, 1a; Book I, 1b, col. 1; Book II, 6a, col. 1; Book III, 17b, col. 2; Book IV, 37b, col. 2; Book V, 40a, col. 2; Book VI, 45a, col. 2; Book VII, 49a, col. 2; Book VIII, 58a, col. 2; Book IX, 62a, col. 2; Epilogue, 66b, col. 1; text ends, 66b, col. 2.

liothèque Nationale, late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, France (?).⁵³ It contains only the *Manuel*, here something more than 11,500 lines; rubrics, important for P, have been much damaged by damp, but generally are legible.

From the Prologue P omits only the lines unique in A. Books I–VI occur in the order of the text, and there are no extensive omissions or additions. Book VII begins with the Points of Shrift; thus P is similar to ArBEFHarJMPHSUY, and unlike ACHmLORoy. At the end of the Points occur the lines which promise that no more will be said about confession, which Furnivall printed in the Roxburghe edition, pp. 395–396, beginning “Plus de confession ne dirrai.” In manuscripts having Book VII in the order of A these lines come at the end of the book, so that no more is said of confession. They are omitted from ArBHarJ, where if they followed the Points of Shrift, they would appear in the middle of the book. In P, they are followed by the author’s thanks to God, that is, by the Epilogue, which here contains only lines 12700–12751. Since these lines appear in the order of H,⁵⁴ there is here no mention in P of the William who asks for prayers, and who has been assumed to be the author. Following this Epilogue, P contains lines printed from H (Rox. p. 404), which in H follow Book VIII. P then returns to the Lumere Prologue, line 8649, and by adding the Graces and Vices of Shrift, belies the promise that there will be no more on confession. In all these changes P agrees with Y, and is suggestive of EFHJPh. Book VIII follows in order, and then Book IX, which takes the extended form, and the manuscript closes with a second Epilogue, reduced to twenty-eight lines, requesting prayers for William de Widindune. Of the tales in A, only 7 and 56 are omitted.

P would thus seem to be related to manuscripts having the Points first in Book VII (ArBEFHHarJMPHSUY), and not to manuscripts like A, which have the Points last. Of these manuscripts, it seems fairly

⁵³ Henri Omont, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français* (Paris, 1895), III, 298. Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, p. 193, thought the manuscript late thirteenth century. It is a thin volume of sixty-four folios, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches by 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches; on the first sixty-two folios the *Manuel* is written in a book hand, not later than the early fourteenth century, two columns to the page, forty-three to fifty-three lines to the column, usually about forty-seven. Initials in red and blue have been executed only through the first twenty-three folios. That the manuscript may once have been in England is suggested by thirty lines of ecclesiastical verse in a fifteenth century English hand on the last folio; the two last folios are otherwise blank. The book was formerly No. 115 in the abbey library at Saint Evroult.

In P the principal divisions of the poem begin as follows: Prologue, 1a, col. 1; Book I, 1b, col. 1; Book II, 6a, col. 1; Book III, 18a, col. 1; Book IV, 37b, col. 2; Book V, 40a, col. 1; Book VI, 44a, col. 2; Book VII (Points only), 47b, col. 2; Epilogue, 51a, col. 2; Book VII (Lumere Prologue, Graces and Vices), 51b, col. 2; Book VIII, 55b, col. 2; Book IX, 59a, col. 1; second Epilogue, 62b, col. 1; manuscript ends.

⁵⁴ The closing lines of H are printed as a variant in the Roxburghe edition.

closely related to EFPh, which break up Book VII, and perhaps to HJ. It is related most closely to Y. These relationships are confirmed by the line readings; in fact, P and Y are so close to each other that even the rubrics are often identical. Small corruptions in Y make it unlikely that P came from Y, but Y may have come from P, which offers an excellent text.

Ph—Phillipps 2223, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, late thirteenth century (?), provenance unknown. Only notices have been given of this manuscript,⁵⁵ although it is an uncommonly sumptuous volume, executed in an even, flowing book hand, charmingly and skillfully illuminated. Tale 36 of the *Manuel*, for example, is illustrated with a Lazarus who looks quite literally out of Abraham's ample bosom. The history of the manuscript, which does not extend beyond the seventeenth century, suggests Norfolk.⁵⁶ Four unnumbered folios at the opening contain a Latin verse tract on sins.⁵⁷ The *Manuel*, somewhat less than 11,000 lines, occupies fols. 1–150b.⁵⁸ The third item is the *Romaunz del romaunz*, fols. 151a–172b, apparently complete.⁵⁹ The fourth is a fragment of the *Chateau d'Amour*, seemingly the first 1200 lines.⁶⁰

Ph offers a version of the *Manuel* containing all major divisions of the poem, and having no extensive omissions or additions not paralleled

⁵⁵ *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum*, Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart. (1837–1873), Part I, No. 2223; *Rom. Rev.*, VIII (1917), 445; S. Pegge, *Life of Grosseteste* (London, 1791), p. 275. That I was able to see this manuscript, I owe to the kind intervention of Miss Hope Emily Allen.

It is a tall, narrow volume, 10 inches by 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches, bound handsomely in white calf, of four unnumbered and 190 numbered folios, written in single columns, some thirty-six lines to the column. The numbered folios comprise fifteen bundles of twelve and one of ten, the foliation not practicable. Ph can be dated only by the script.

⁵⁶ The recent history of the manuscript is fairly clear. Pegge saw it in the hands of Thomas Tyrwhitt (1730–1786), and said that Tyrwhitt had it from Thomas Martin (1697–1771), the Norfolk and Suffolk antiquary (*Thos. Martin* appears, fol. 190a). Martin acquired manuscripts collected by Peter Le Neve (1661–1729) by becoming, first Le Neve's executor, and then the husband of his second wife, Frances. Tyrwhitt may have purchased privately, for although Martin sold manuscripts in 1769, Miss Allen found no French manuscript in his catalogue of sales. The manuscript could scarcely have passed from Tyrwhitt directly to Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), though the number suggests an early acquisition. A note on the flyleaf throws some light on the history of the manuscript before the time of Le Neve. It says that Shirley Woolmer quotes a local antiquary, "the Reverend Mr. Oliver" that "about a century since" the manuscript belonged to "The Hollands" in Norfolk. Woolmer flourished in the late eighteenth century; the British Museum has two of his books, 1794, and a second edition, 1811. Perhaps we may assume that the Hollands had the manuscript before 1700; in the sixteenth century the family was resident at Swinstead, Norfolk; cf. G. H. Dashwood, *The Visitations of Norfolk in the Year 1563, taken by William Harvey, Clarenceux King of Arms* (Norwich, 1878), I, 196, 337; II, 276.

⁵⁷ There are handsome diagrams, showing the branches and twigs of sin.

⁵⁸ The version is badly confused; see n. 61.

⁵⁹ Vising, *op. cit.*, No. 25; Vising, however, does not list the manuscript. At the end of the work appears, "Robert fist eueske de Nichole."

⁶⁰ Miss Jessie Murray was unable to use this manuscript for her edition (Paris, 1918).

in other manuscripts, but it presents this material in a unique order.⁶¹ The Prologue and Books I–VI occur regularly, except for extensive omissions, mostly tales. After Book VI, the remaining books are added in an irregular order, and the omitted passages are included for insertion. Ignoring minor omissions, the order of material in Ph is as follows: 1–90, 117–1688, 1843–2088, 2137–2246, 2367–2544, 2619–3026, 3105–3454, 3501–3602, 3675–4018, 4097–4238, 4391–4792,

⁶¹ For convenience in reference, I here follow through the *Manuel* in Ph. The Prologue begins fol. 1a, and contains lines 1–20, 25–30, 22, 21, 23, 24, 49–90, 117–126. Thus, in addition to the lines unique in A, Ph here omits lines 91–116, omitted also from HJYV, and transposed in Ar. These lines appear as the first of a number of additions after Book IX, fols. 112b–113a. Book I begins fol. 2a; Tale 1, 5a; Tale 2, 10a; Book II, 12b; Tale 3, 13a; Tale 4, 16b; Tale 5, 19a; Tale 6, 22a; the unique Tale 7 is omitted; Tale 8, 23b; Tale 9, 25b; lines 2089–2136 are omitted, fol. 26b; thus Tale 10 is here omitted, but is added after lines 91–116, fol. 113a; at fol. 28a, lines 2247–2366 are omitted; thus Tale 11 is omitted, as in ArHJVZ, and is not inserted later; Tale 12 begins fol. 28b; lines 2545–2618 are omitted, fol. 30a, but Tale 13 is added later, 113b; Tale 14 begins, 31a; Tale 15, 33b; Tale 16, 33b; Tale 17, 35a; lines 3027–3104, including Tales 18 and 19 are omitted but occur without loss, fol. 114b; Book III begins 36b; Tale 20, 38b; Tale 21, 39b; Tale 22 (lines 3455–3500) is omitted, but inserted fol. 115b; lines 3603–3674, including Tale 23 are omitted, but inserted fol. 116a; Tale 24, 43b; Tale 25, 45b; lines 4019–4096 are omitted, but 4023–4096, treating the fourth sin and including no tale, are inserted fol. 117b; Tale 26, 47b; lines 4239–4390, including an attack upon tournaments and Tale 27, are omitted but inserted fol. 120a; Tale 28, 50a; Tale 29, 51a; Tale 30, 52b; lines 4793–5098, including Tale 31, are omitted, but inserted fol. 120a; Tale 32, 54a; Tale 33, 55a; Tale 34, 56a; Tale 35, 57a; Tale 36, 58b; lines 5591–5794, including Tales 37 and 38, are here omitted but inserted fol. 124b; Tale 39, 62a; Tale 40, 64a; lines 6237–6362 including Tale 41 are here omitted, but inserted fol. 127a; lines 6393–6456, including Tale 42 are omitted, but inserted fol. 129b; Tale 43, 67b; Book IV, 69a; Tale 44, 69b; Tale 45, 70b; Tale 46, 71a; Tale 47, 72a; Tale 48, 73a; Book V, 74a; Tale 49, 75a; Tale 50, 77a; Tale 51, 79b; Tale 52, 80b; Tale 53, 81a; Tale 54, 83a; Book VI, 85b; Book VII begins fol. 94b, at line 9605, that is, with the Points of Shrift; Tale 58, 94b (no tales are omitted here; they are numbered in accordance with sequence in A); Tale 59, 100b; Tale 60, 101b; Tale 61, 103b; at fol. 104a the Points end, and there follow the lines which Furnivall printed from A, Rox., pp. 395–396, “Plus de confession ne dirrai”; the order of material is like that in PY and suggestive of EFHJ; the Lumere Indeficient Prologue and the Graces and Vices of Shrift are here omitted but are inserted fol. 130a; after the Points and the A-lines occurs the Epilogue, fol. 104a, requesting prayers for William de Widdindune, and followed by twelve lines which follow the Epilogue in HJPY, printed by Furnivall Rox. p. 404; here they occur fol. 105a; Book VIII is also omitted here, but it closes the manuscript, fols. 141a–150b; instead, a short form of Book IX begins, fol. 105a; it agrees with EFHJ in omitting lines 12025–12044, 12070–12122, and with HJ in omitting 12160–12320; that is, the Prayer to Christ is reduced in these manuscripts to about 110 lines; the Prayer to Mary begins, fol. 107a; at fol. 112b occurs the rubric “Ces cuntes dainent entere en le liure en diuers chapitles si cum les signes serrunt troue En le Prologue”; lines 91–116 follow; lines 2098–2136 follow without rubric; lines 2545–2618 begin fol. 112a, with the rubric, “Ceo dait entrer en le setime comadement”; similarly, other omitted passages follow as they have been listed above; Tale 56 is omitted as usual; Tale 55 begins fol. 134a; Tale 57, fol. 138b. The manuscript closes with the lines printed by Furnivall from H, Rox. p. 404; here they read as follows:

Deu de ciel rai celestre
 Coment ceo secle ad mortel estre
 Tant est feus & deceivable
 Perlus a tous & chauiable
 Qui nert & entent lauenture
 Mut est fous ke se ensure

5099–5590, 5795–6236, 6363–6392, 6457–8482 (Rox.), 9605–10362, A-lines printed Rox. pp. 395–396, 12700–12753, H-lines printed Rox. p. 404, 11995–12024, 12045–12069, 12123–12159, 12321–12699, 91–116, 2089–2136, 2545–2618, 3027–3104, 3603–3674, 4023–4096, 4239–4390, 4793–5098, 5591–5794, 6237–6362, 6393–6416, 8649–9028, 9209–9596 (EETS), 11295 (Rox.) –11990 (Rox.),⁶² six lines like those in H. Of the tales, Numbers 7 and 56 are omitted as usually, and Number 11 as in ArHfHJVZ; those included occur in the following order: 1–6, 8, 9, 12, 14–17, 20, 21, 24–26, 28–30, 32–36, 39, 40, 43–54, 58–62, 10, 13, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 31, 37, 38, 41, 42, 55, 57, 63, 64.

We might notice that apparently we have here three groups of material:

(1) A reduced Prologue, Books I–VI, the Points of Book VII, the Epilogue, and a restricted Book IX; in the subsequent rubric, this matter is referred to as "le liuere."

(2) Matter introduced by the rubric, "Ces cuntes dainent entrere en le liuere en diuers chapitles si cum les signes serrunt troue En le Prologue." These are omitted passages, usually tales, but occasionally exemplary material which we should not call "cuntes."

(3) The Lumere Indeficient Prologue and the Graces and Vices of Book VII, and Book VIII. These portions seem either to be part of the original "liuere," that is, (1); or they are material being added to (1) but not conceived as having been omitted from it. These certainly are not "cuntes," and they are not indicated by rubrics as matter which should be entered "en diuers chapitles." The divisions carry rubrics, but these do not indicate that the matter is out of place.

For the relationships of the manuscript, it will be noted that Ph suggests ArHJVZ in the Prologue, and in the omission of Tale 11. Line readings also suggest relationship to these manuscripts in the early books. For the later books, Ph agrees with EFPY in breaking up Book VII, with PY in placing the Epilogue after the Points, with EF in some parts of Book IX, with HJ in all parts of Book IX, and with ArRoy in closing with Book VIII.

U—4057 (formerly 3624 and Hatton 99) Bodleian Library, early fourteenth century, provenance unknown. The manuscript has been mentioned frequently,⁶³ and the following description appears in the catalogue at the Bodleian:

⁶² There is no break here, the apparent confusion arising from the difference in numbering in the EETS and Roxburghe editions.

⁶³ *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum Collecti cum Indice Alphabetico* (Oxoniae, 1672), under Hattonarius; Edmund Stengel, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 32; it will be catalogued in the forthcoming part of *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued*, etc. (Oxford, 1895–1924), Vols. III–VI, parts 1–2.

4057 3624 (32) In French, on parchment, made up of two MSS. written early in the 14th century. $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. \times 5 in. quarto and 180 leaves.⁶⁴

A. In a book hand, with illuminated capitals, etc. "Le manuel de pechez" of William of Waddington, here called "William de Wildingdun; beg: "Ci cumence le manuel de pechez": with the prologue and epilogue.

B. Chastel d'Amour of Robert Grosteste, imperfect, in a charter hand. See edition of J. Murray, Paris, 1918.

The fly leaves are 2 leaves from an early 15th C. Latin grammatical treatise, and part of a roll, containing miracles of Robt. Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, and written about 1319.⁶⁵

All books are present, and in the order of their numbering, but the manuscript is unique in including only the Points of Shrift from Book VII. The Lumere Indeficient Prologue and the Graces and Vices, separated from the Points in EFPPHY, are here omitted completely. Book IX has the extended form. Tales 7 and 56 are omitted as usual, and Tales 55 and 57 are omitted as parts of the Graces of Shrift. Line readings relate U to BEFHarPY, somewhat less intimately to ArHJPhVZ. The text clearly has been preserved with scrupulous care, and contains few unique omissions or additions.

V—Palatinus Latinus 1970, Vatican Library, c. 1300, provenance unknown. This manuscript has been described at the capable hands of Dr. Karl Christ.⁶⁶ It is in two scripts, "beide sorgfältig um 1300 geschrieben, der erste in der üblichen Buchschrift mit wechselndem Duktus, der zweiten (Bl. 62ff) in flüchtiger, kleiner Minuskel, welche noch die für das XIII Jahrhundert charakterischen Formen zeigt. . . ." The manuscript was formerly in the possession of Ulrich Fugger (died c. 1579), and thus was presumably at Augsburg, but we have no assurance of a continental provenance for the manuscript, particularly since Pal. Lat. 1963, also in the Fugger collection, bears inscriptions in an English hand.⁶⁷ Except for a brief piece of theological prose, the

⁶⁴ I counted 178, but will cite the manuscript by its present pagination.

⁶⁵ One might add that the *Manuel* occupies fols. 1–152a, in single columns, rather regularly thirty-five lines to the column, somewhat more than 10,500 lines. The hand is neat and legible, and the scribe often writes at the end of a line the first word of the next line, as though he were copying from a manuscript in double file. U apparently was in private hands in 1454, when Dame Margaret Cokfeld gave it "wyth crystes bleßsyng and amene" to Marget Dyngham (fol. 158b). The main divisions of the *Manuel* begin as follows: Prologue, 1a; Book I, 2b; Book II, 13b; Book III, 43a; Book IV, 92b; Book V, 99a (rubric on 98b); Book VI, 110b; Book VII (Points only), 120b; Book VIII, 130b; Book IX, 140a; Epilogue, 150b (numbered both 150 and 151); manuscript ends, 152a (actually 151a). Miss Murray did not use the manuscript for her edition of the *Chauteau d'Amour*.

⁶⁶ *Die altfranzösischen Handschriften der Palatina: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Heidelberger Büchersammlungen und zur Kenntnis der älteren französischen Literatur, XLVI Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 75–77.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 56–58, 75–76.

Manuel is alone in the manuscript. It occupies folios 1–92, two columns to the page, regularly thirty lines to the column, something more than 11,000 lines. It contains the Prologue, the nine books in the order of their numbering, Book VII in the form familiar from A, Book IX in the extended form, and an Epilogue asking prayers for Willame de Widigton.⁶⁸ Tales 7 and 56 are omitted as usually, and Tale 11 is omitted as in ArHfHJPhZ. There are no large additions to the manuscript, and few small ones; the only considerable omission is the lack of lines 9705–9800, the second Point of Shrift; the scribe ran the rubrics for the second and third Points together, and omitted the lines treating the second Point (fol. 75a, col. 2).

A superficial examination, then, would suggest that V is a conventional manuscript of the type found in A, except that manuscripts of this sort usually do not omit Tale 11. This assumption cannot be reliable, however, for while my line readings show a relationship between V and manuscripts like A in the later books, they show a close relationship between V and ArHHfJPhZ throughout the earlier books.⁶⁹ The manuscript would seem to be composite, and we may well examine it more closely. First, let us examine the foliation; the gatherings are as follows: 1–11 (the first folio being torn away from a gathering of six double leaves), 12–23, 24–35, 36–49, 50–61, 62–71, 72–83, 84–95. Now it will be noticed that the first hand comes to an end at the close of the fifth quire, a circumstance to which Dr. Christ seems to have attached no importance, since he considered the foliation impracticable. The first scribe regularly used jump lines at the bottom of the page; fol. 61, closing quire five, has no jump line, as though that were the closing folio of the manuscript. There are other evidences that the scribe thought he had finished his job; fol. 61 was not written to the bottom, but the surplus space was finished off with a geometrical illumination; no such break occurs elsewhere in the manuscript. As fol. 61 stands at present, there is a space showing erasure, which by comparing with the opposite column we can see would have accommodated twelve lines; whether it was written full we cannot be sure, since part of the illumination has been carried away, but the space is rectangular, suggesting that the scribe erased to a line. The space has been re-ruled for thirteen lines, but only six have been written in, lines 7957–7962. Now,

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77. We need not assume with Dr. Christ that the reading was "Widi[n]gton"; other manuscripts lack the *n*. The third vowel has been altered, probably from *u*; the scribe apparently wrote "Widigtun."

⁶⁹ *Manuscripts of the Manuel*, pp. 496–509. I expect to publish my tabulation of these variants in a later article.

it is at line 7956 that Book V closes; lines 7957–7962 are an introduction to Book VI, and Book VI itself begins on fol. 62. It is at the end of Book V, furthermore, that the line readings of V cease to resemble those of ArHHfJPh.⁷⁰

What, then, are we to conclude of the history of V? We must assume that the two scribes used different manuscripts, the first related to ArHHfJPhZ, a type which generally seems not to have contained Book VI, and the second of the type known from A, which does have Book VI and has Book VII in the following order: Lumere Indeficient Prologue, Graces and Vices, Points. The question is, how much was contained in the manuscript used by the first scribe? If we assume that this manuscript contained more than the first five books, then we must also assume that after finishing Book V, this scribe added the first dozen lines or so of a subsequent book (probably not Book VI), that he stopped transcribing within a few lines of the bottom of the page, executed an illumination below the last lines he wrote—not in the margin, as formerly—and left the manuscript so, without a jump line. The second scribe had at his disposal a manuscript having Book VI; the manuscript and the scribe turned up fortuitously while the copying was yet incomplete; the second scribe erased the last few lines of the book which the first scribe had started, wrote in six lines but did not finish the page, and began Book VI on a new leaf, which merely happened to be the beginning of a new quire. Such a series of assumptions is highly improbable, and we have a more likely alternative. The first scribe had before him a manuscript which contained the first five books, ending at line 7956, and followed by a brief epilogue. This epilogue might have resembled the six closing lines of Roy, the twelve lines which have been added after the Epilogue in HJPh, or the conventional prayers that have been added at the end of various manuscripts, e.g., lines 12750–12755 of the printed text. Whatever they were, the first scribe felt he had finished, and filled the remaining space with an illumination. Later, the manuscript was found to be incomplete when compared with another version. Additional quires were supplied; the scribe erased the prayer at the end, and added Books VI–IX and the Epilogue from a manuscript resembling A.

One might add that the text of V has been preserved with care. We find in it the least corrupt version of the first five books, as those books occur in an important group of manuscripts, ArHHfJPhVZ.

Y—XVI K 7, York Minster, fragmentary at close, late thirteenth

⁷⁰ Z is fragmentary, and breaks off at line 6700.

or early fourteenth century, provenance unknown.⁷¹ It has been noticed but not described.⁷² It is really two manuscripts, the *Manuel*, fols. 1–65, written in what seems to be a late thirteenth century book hand, and lines 48–664 of the *Chateau d'Amour*, written on fols. 66–70 in a nearly contemporary charter hand.⁷³ The *Manuel* breaks off at the end of a quire, at line 12552, after less than 11,500 lines.

Y is close to P in its line readings and in its larger divisions. The Prologue and the first six books appear in the familiar order; Book VII begins with the Points of Shrift, follows with lines printed from A (Rox. 395–396), and jumps to the Epilogue, which in Y contains no request of prayers for William. Next appear lines which Furnivall printed from H (Rox. p. 404), and Book VII is completed (Lumere Indeficient Prologue, Graces, Vices). In this order of contents, Y is exactly like P, and suggestive of EFHJPh. Books VIII and IX follow with little disturbance; of the latter book about 150 lines are lost, and if Y resembled P at the close, a second Epilogue has been lost. Y offers a good text, but it has suffered more than has P, to which it stands so close that the manuscripts usually agree, even in the rubrics. In earlier books line readings relate it to ArHJPhVZ.

Z—XVI K 13, York Minster, late thirteenth century (?), northern (?).⁷⁴ It has been noticed but not described.⁷⁵ It contains four

⁷¹ At considerable inconvenience to himself, Canon F. Harrison put this manuscript and Z at my disposal.

⁷² *Mod. Lang. Notes*, III (1888), 491–492. A cataloguer who signed himself H.P. identified the items in 1816. It is a shapely volume, 6 inches by 8¼ inches, written in double columns, forty-two to forty-eight lines to the column. Both parts of the manuscript contain initials in red and blue, and rubrics, many of them dimmed to illegibility. Both parts contain inscriptions which add little to our knowledge: (fol. 52a) "De [Graunte ?] brige fu frere que out a nom de Wodefort frere e prestur de [notre ? conventium ?]" and (fol. 66a) "Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglorum Dominus Hiberniae." The specific Edward is not identified.

In Y the principal divisions of the *Manuel* begin as follows: Prologue 1a; Book I, 1a, col. 2; Book II, 5b, col. 1; Book III, 18a, col. 1; Book IV, 36b, col. 2; Book V, 38b, col. 2; Book VI, 44a, col. 1; Book VII (Points only), 48a, col. 2; Epilogue, 52a, col. 2; Book VII (Lumere Indeficient Prologue, Graces, Vices), 52b, col. 2; Book VIII, 58a, col. 2; Book IX, 62b, col. 1; manuscript ends, line 12552, fragmentary, 65b, col. 2.

⁷³ The manuscript was not used for Miss Murray's edition.

⁷⁴ On fol. 103a appears *Joannes Pye*. As Professor Arnould noticed, *John Pye* occurs also on S; cf. n. 26 above. Both manuscripts are preserved in the North, in collections which seem generally to have been local. On fols. 13a and 84a appear *Jonas Smyth* and *Thomas Smyth*, and on fol. 24 two names much blurred.

⁷⁵ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, III (1888), 494–495. The book was inventoried by P. P. Stockwell in 1816. It is bound in strong blue cloth, written on vellum in a neat book hand, probably late thirteenth century, in single columns, twenty-seven or twenty-eight lines to the page. There are a few large capitals in red, and paragraphs are indicated in red, but the manuscript has neither rubrics nor illuminations. The principal divisions of the *Manuel* occur in Z as follows: Prologue, 1a; Book I, 2b; Book II, 14b; Book III, 49b; Book IV, 110a; the manuscript breaks off at line 6700, fol. 110b.

items: (1) the *Manuel*, on folios numbered 1–103, but since seven folios are not numbered, the poem actually occupies fols. 1–110; (2) a verse legend of St. Eustace, folios numbered 104–119;⁷⁶ (3) a verse legend of St. Marguerite, on folios numbered 119–127;⁷⁷ (4) forty-two lines of a fragmentary verse legend of Mary Magdaleine, on the folio numbered 128. The fragment of the *Manuel* breaks off at the end of a quire, line 6700, and contains some 6000 lines. It lacks the unique Tale 7, and agrees with ArHHfJPhV in lacking Tale 11. To this group of manuscripts it is related also by its line readings. The text is much corrupted by omissions and additions.

M—Middleton Manuscript, Birdsall House, Malton, Yorkshire; fragmentary, thirteenth century, provenance unknown. The manuscript has been capably noticed.⁷⁸ It could not be located when I was in England,⁷⁹ but Professor Arnould, who has since seen the manuscript, writes me that its language “is by far the most correct of all.” All books are present after a lacuna in which the first 2208 lines have been lost. Book VII takes the form known in B, and the manuscript does not share disturbances with EFHJPhY. Although the manuscript does not lack Tale 11, Professor Arnould relates it to ArZ. Until he publishes, we can say only that M does not seem to resemble ACGHmLORoy.

These descriptions do not make the manuscript families entirely clear, so that, in classifying the manuscripts, we must rely also upon a tabulation of line variants. These tabulations are too extensive to survey here,⁸⁰ but with their aid I have grouped the manuscripts as follows:

Group I—This group contains ACGHmLOR, probably Roy, and that part of V which follows Book V. The group is represented by the printed texts; that is, it contains the Prologue, the nine books in the order of their numbering (except possibly Book VI) and an Epilogue mentioning William of Wadington.⁸¹ Book VII occurs in the following order:

⁷⁶ Vising, *op. cit.*, No. 128; the work is here attributed to Guille de Ferenes.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 118.

⁷⁸ *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report*, No. 69 (London, 1911), pp. 220–221.

⁷⁹ I am indebted to Michael Guy Willoughby, Bt., the present Lord Middleton, for extending me every courtesy, and for his personal efforts to locate this manuscript. Lord Middleton takes exemplary care of his manuscripts, but I arrived at an unpropitious time, when his extensive muniments had recently been moved from another family seat. Professor Arnould has very kindly supplied me with a description of the contents of the manuscript, of which I make use below.

⁸⁰ See *Manuscripts of the Manuel*, pp. 364–573, especially 430–441, 496–509.

⁸¹ In the fourteen manuscripts containing a request of prayers for William, the surname occurs in thirteen spellings, as follows: A, Windindoun; B, Wadigtoun; C, Widendone; F, Waddington; H, Widinton; Hm, Wygetoun; J, Wytinde; L, Widitton; M, Wuldindune; O, Widindone; P, Widdindune; Ph, Widdindune; U, Wildindune; V, Widigton. The number and distribution of these spellings suggests a form something like *Wi(n)dindon*. I hope to consider the question in a subsequent article.

Lumere Indeficient Prologue, Graces and Vices of Shrift, Points of Shrift. Book IX appears in the extended form found in the printed texts. The state of Book VI is uncertain; it is certainly a late addition,⁸² and in this group it is lacking from L and Roy. Of the manuscripts here placed in Group I, probably only the classification of Roy need be questioned. Like Ar, Roy omits Books VI and IX and the Epilogue, but its line readings clearly relate it more closely to Group I than to manuscripts like Ar. It is like manuscripts of Group I, also, in having the Graces and Vices before the Points, although it is unlike that group in omitting the Lumere Indeficient Prologue. My own guess is that Roy stems from a manuscript of the type that I here call Group II, but has been extensively corrected from a manuscript of Group I.

Group II—This is an irregular group, containing a large number of fragments, in which I tentatively place the following manuscripts: ArHHfJPhSZ, and the first five books of V. The group generally omits or misplaces lines 91–116, omits Tale 11 and Book VI, omits or shows disturbance of late books, omits or shows displacement of the Epilogue. If Book VII occurs, it takes the form described in B (Points of Shrift, Lumere Indeficient Prologue, Graces and Vices of Shrift) or has the material in the order of B, but breaks it up. If Book IX occurs, it appears in a restricted form. Actually, the form of this group cannot be described with much confidence, and its existence in the last analysis rests upon the line readings; fortunately, the testimony of these is unequivocal. S and Ph have been placed in Group II tentatively; for S we have the opinion of Professor Arnould and a few variants; for Ph I have inadequate variants taken in the brief time this manuscript was at my disposal.

Group III—In this group I place the remaining manuscripts: AfBEFHarMPUY. The group shows regularity through the Prologue and Books I–VI. Book VII occurs in the order of B, and in BHarM it appears in the form of B, a form shared also by ArJ (and perhaps by the fragmentary H) in Group II. EFPY have the material of Book VII in the order of B, but break it up; in EF the intervening material is a very brief form of Book IX; in PY it is an Epilogue without mention of William of Wadington. U begins Book VII with the order of B, but contains only the Points of Shrift. Group III contains Book VIII in various surroundings. Book IX may occur in any of three forms, and in several positions, of which the most frequent are: within Book VII, after Book VIII, or after the Epilogue. The Epilogue always occurs, but may

⁸² *Romania*, XXIX (1900), 9–21, 83–84.

appear either once or twice, may or may not mention the William whose last name is conventionally spelled *Wadington*. Thus Group III is like Group II in that it shows great confusion in Books VI–IX and in the Epilogue, and it is like Group II also in the order of material of Book VII. It is unlike Group II in always containing Book VI and Tale 11, and in containing most of the divisions after Book VI. In the last analysis, however, it has been necessary to place manuscripts in one group or the other largely on the basis of their line readings. These readings show that Group III is closer to Group II than to Group I, but still suffice to mark Group II from Group III. The presence of AfM in the group is uncertain.

Thus the manuscripts of the *Manuel* might be surveyed as follows: they fall into two large groups, a relatively regular family (Group I) held together by uniformity in order and content, and by the form of Books VII and IX; a large family (Groups II and III) which can in turn be divided into two groups or more. These show relative regularity in the first five books, but great diversity in order and content in the last four books and in the Epilogue. Groups within this second family can often be distinguished only on the basis of line readings. The relationships of the manuscripts might be pictured as in the accompanying diagram.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Much of the material in the foregoing study was collected with the aid of a Lydia C. Roberts Travelling Fellowship, granted from Columbia University. I am indebted to the officers of that institution, to librarians who had custody of the manuscripts consulted, and to many others who have assisted me, especially to Professors W. W. Lawrence and Arthur Garfield Kennedy.

ELIZABETHAN WIDOWS

LU EMILY PEARSON

San Jose State College

"Moderate lamentation is the right of the dead, excessive grief the enemy to the living,"¹ says Lafeu while offering consolation to the orphaned Helena. This is good advice at any time, of course, but it was especially so in Shakespeare's time. Elizabethans braced themselves to meet death by various means: some made severe demands upon the philosophy of stoicism, some tried to accustom themselves to death's horrors by a morbid consideration of the macabre, some rested uneasily on a faith in eternal happiness or eternal sleep, but almost none, when brought face to face with personal loss by death, faced it with the moderation recommended by this Shakespearian lord. Before the dread presence Elizabethans were as helpless as we are today, but the changes which death brought into their lives they hedged about with conventional practices that we have greatly modified or discarded altogether. Amid all this ceremony and ritual moved the central figure, the heavily draped form of the widow with her long, nun-like veil over her pale, tear-stained face. Nor was this figure altogether conventional. At times a virtuous but disillusioned Elizabethan widow may have felt that she could do no better than to follow her husband not only to the grave but into it. Such a solution for the crisis in this hapless creature's life is suggested by Crashaw's romantic *Epitaph* on a husband and wife buried together.

To those whom death again did wed
This grave's the second marriage-bed.
For though the hand of fate could force
'Twixt soul and body a divorce,
It could not sever man and wife,
Because they both lived but one life.
Peace, good reader, do not weep;
Peace, the lovers are asleep.
They, sweet turtles, folded lie
In the last knot that love can tie.
Let them sleep, let them sleep on,
Till the stormy night be gone,

¹ *All's Well*, I, i, 58-9.

And the eternal morrow dawn;
Then the curtains will be drawn,
And they wake into the light
Whose day shall never die in night.

Mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister, and even a husband might find solace in friends or relatives at the time of bereavement, but as soon as the widow had laid the body of her husband in his tomb, she was expected to bury her will with her grief. The "modest" widow, therefore, put herself into the hands of her nearest kin, who often proceeded with all due haste to launch her once more into matrimony. The higher the rich widow's social standing, the sooner, as a rule, occurred her re-marriage. In any case, however, the rich widow must be quickly married. Scant time was given her to recline in the black bed of mourning to receive visits from consoling friends.² Those closest to her and who were responsible for her financial welfare governed as much as possible the expenditures on funeral and wake unless the will of the deceased prevented any curtailment of the widow's fortune.³ Then they bargained with suitors for her hand, and if the widow was very rich, she had many suitors, of all ages: the old sought her in order to enhance their financial holdings or to increase their power; the young, to acquire the fortune denied them by their older brother's inheritance or to repair an inheritance wasted by their own extravagance or that of their forebears. Some, of course, were but clever fortune hunters. The widow's guardians, as designated in her deceased husband's will, sought to make the most of their good fortune by driving a close bargain with the suitors, giving the prize to the highest bidder. Widows with less wealth shared a like fate, the difference being primarily in degree. Just how much youth and beauty counted in the marriage mart depended a good deal upon the desires of the suitors, but in the case of the rich widow, they were often dangerous to her personal happiness. Aware of the hazards that surrounded them, harassed widows yielded more or less readily to the hasty marriages arranged by their "protectors," but to offset the charge of "lusty," they had to conduct themselves with extreme modesty. Even

² Such beds were common property in a family, and were lent to members requiring their use, black velvet window curtains and carpets accompanying the black canopy and other draperies of the bed. Everything of a widow had to be black from her black night clothes and caps, her black combs and brushes and slippers to the black coach, in which she drove for a year or so after her husband's death unless she re-married during this time.

³ The money spent on Elizabethan funerals was according to one's means and inclination, of course, but love of display (even of grief) was as fully expressed in this manner as in any other. Monuments were often elaborate and very expensive.

so, they who came through the ordeal of widowhood with a clear reputation did so more through the grace of God than through the grace of their own wise or discreet behavior.

Indeed, the wise early marriage of an Elizabethan widow was almost necessary. In spite of all their worldly wisdom, Elizabethan ladies were born and bred to depend upon a father's or brother's or husband's protection against the human wolves that would rob them of their possessions. Then, as now, a widow was more or less legitimate prey to the strong, and Elizabethan society recognized this fact by condoning early marriages. The only stipulation made was that a widow must not receive any suitors till her husband's body was buried. For those whose husbands had died abroad, this period of retirement from the social whirl might be longer than one would suppose, as two or more months often passed before the body could be brought to its final resting place. Hazards of war and disease often widowed a woman three or four times,⁴ especially among the upper classes.

A widow of the lower middle class, unless left with a small shop or estate by which to support herself, could do little to make an honorable living for herself and family. The mother of Sir John Cheke⁵ was the wife of a beadle, but at her husband's death, being left poor, she could maintain herself and children only by keeping a wine shop in the town of Cambridge. In spite of her humble position, however, she did well by her children. Among the upper middle class, a widow with much property needed her family's protection in contracting a new marriage. Lest she be made the object of a fortune hunter,⁶ her family usually took the precaution to see that the new husband offered security for the privilege of taking charge of the widow's property. True, the family

⁴ Phillip Stubbes, the Puritan writer of books and pamphlets, speaks with affection and respect of his Dutch mother-in-law, who was widowed on September 22, 1563, and re-married on November 8th of that year. Twenty years later, when she was again widowed, she was licensed to re-marry two months later, on January 18, 1583. Yet Stubbes says she was of "singular good grace and modestie," and though "both discrete and wise," her chief adornment was that "she was both religious and verie zealous." *A Christall Glas, for Christian Women*, London, 1590.

⁵ Sir John Cheke was the Greek scholar and friend of Ascham (who tutored Elizabeth and Prince Edward) and of Cecil, who married a sister of Cheke. (The young wife died before Cecil became Lord Burleigh.)

⁶ Shakespeare deals with a gay young fortune hunter in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Hortensio, when his suit to Bianca is spurned, says he will

. . . be married to a wealthy widow
Ere three days pass, which hath as long lov'd me
As I have lov'd this proud, disdainful haggard. (IV, ii, 37-9)

Later, Bianca is informed by Tranio, a servant, that Hortensio will

. . . have a lusty widow now,
That shall be woo'd and wedded in a day. (IV, ii, 50-1)

might profit by the arrangement as did some guardians of rich widows among the nobility.⁷ But although abuse of this protection device might lead to the barter or sale of rich widows, regardless of their birth, some such method was necessary if the widow was not to become a prey to the fortune seekers about her.

A widow with children complicated this problem of re-marriage, especially if a widower with children presented himself as suitor. Writers of conduct books during the age discussed this matter fully.⁸ Yet families consisting of two sets of children often lived most amicably together, and sometimes such a family might be almost patriarchal in its structure. When Sir Thomas More was left with four children aged five, four, three, and two years, he married within a few months a woman older than himself and with one daughter. Though More's biographers speak somewhat disparagingly of this woman's disposition and say that More married her chiefly "for the care of his children," the father himself said after twenty years of married life he did not know which of his two wives was dearer to him, and that he hoped "they might all three live in heaven."⁹

The general suspicion of a widow's virtue appears in all Elizabethan

⁷ When Sir Francis Walsingham married Widow Ursula on July 1, 1565, he promised to settle upon her lands to the yearly value of 100 marks, which he did, and for which he was bound to 2000 marks. For further advancement of Dame Ursula, Sir Francis conveyed to her brother-in-law, John Worsley, "the manor and mansion house of Parkebury . . . on the 22nd July, 1566, to the like uses," and was bound therefor for 1000 marks, and was also required to give "security for £500 in plate to be bequeathed by him to his said wife, upon whom by a still later deed" he settled a manor valued at £100 a year. See Hubert Hall: *Society in the Elizabethan Age* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1902), p. 165.

⁸ Vives, in a book written for the first queen of Henry VIII, set the standard of womanly conduct for many of the Elizabethan domestic books. He did not condemn second marriages unless two sets of children were involved. He justified re-marriage as follows: a young widow needed someone to care for her property as well as to control her servants and to keep them in order. The new husband might also serve as a second father to young sons and daughters or he might serve as a means to keep the widow from lustful living. Vives objected to second marriages on the following grounds: they were inadvisable if two sets of children were involved, for then a widow was not at liberty with the new children as with her own. A widow's love of her own children might make her second husband jealous of the father of those children, and consequently, her second husband might require her to look upon his children favorably and upon her own indifferently. If one of the new husband's children should sicken, the new mother might be accused of being a witch; if she forbade giving meat to such a child when it fell sick, she would be called cruel, and if she gave it meat and it died, she might be called a poisoner. Joannes Ludovico Vives, *Instruction of a Christian Woman*, tr. by Richard Hyrde in 1540, republished in 1541. Written in 1523. See Book III, Chapter VII.

⁹ More's step-daughter loved him as her own father, and when More's children grew to maturity and married and remained at home, the step-mother continued her important place in the center of a family that soon numbered eleven grandchildren besides More's son and wife and his three daughters and their husbands. Erasmus, who visited this household often, praised the wife's prudence and industry as much as More's merry and kind disposition. Thomas Stapleton: *The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Sir Thomas More*, tr. by Philip E. Hallett (London, 1928), p. 95.

literature, but especially in the conduct books. When Becon,¹⁰ the popular divine, exclaimed "How light, vain, trifling, dishonest, un-housewifelike young widows have been in all ages, and are also at this present day, experience doth sufficiently declare," he did not preach to deaf ears.¹¹ The Pauline tradition was felt everywhere. Vives advised young widows to marry early to avoid "the danger of everlasting damnation," and the gentle Guazzo warned widows that since they were exposed to harsh judgments, they should be extremely circumspect and should live retired lives to avoid idleness and idle tongues.¹²

The rules for a widow's proper conduct as laid down by Vives deserve a somewhat detailed examination. Since a good woman feels that with the loss of her husband goes part of herself,¹³ mourning is right and natural, he says, provided her grief is neither too much nor too little. Mourning is proper in a widow because the husband has been defender of his wife's chastity, keeper of her body, father and tutor of her children, provider of the wealth of the household, and governor of all in that household. Lack of mourning proclaims a wife has been released from her husband's bondage and domination. But a wife is foolish to feel such release, for she has lost her guide and her mentor. After her first grief is past, however, she should "begin to study for consolation," which should consist of the Christian belief in the immortality of the soul and in the reunion after death of friend and friend. Death, says Vives, does not merely separate body and soul; when a husband dies he is not "utterly deade, but lyvethe bothe with lyfe of

¹⁰ *Works*, fol. 1: CCCCXXIX (*Catechism*), London, 1564.

¹¹ Shakespeare uses the theme of a trifling widow's tears as a topic for light banter between Beatrice and Benedick.

Benedick: . . . If a man do not erect in this age his own
tomb ere he dies, he shall live no longer in
monument than the bell rings and the widow weeps.

Beatrice: And how long is that, think you?

Benedick: Question: why, an hour in clamor and a quarter
in rheum. (*Much Ado*, V, ii, 75-81)

¹² "Even the wisest and honestest of them serve for a marke for ill tongues to shoote at," says Guazzo, "and it seemeth ye more they cover their face and their eyes with their masks, the more busily men labour to discover in them some faultes." To escape such injuries, he advises widows, especially young ones, to "take heed eyther in talke, countenance, apparell, or behaviour, to give the least suspition of vanity that may be . . .," and advises some "commendable exercise" no matter how closely confined a widow might have to keep herself from the world. Stefano Guazzo, *The Civil Conversation*, tr. by George Pettie, London, 1581. See Book III, p. 41.

¹³ Shakespeare has Queen Elizabeth express herself conventionally when she speaks mournfully to Lord Grey about the approaching death of her husband, King Edward IV. See *Richard III*, I, iii, 6-8:

Queen Elizabeth: If he were dead, what would betide me?

Lord Grey: No other harm but loss of such a lord.

Queen Elizabeth: The loss of such a lord includes all harms.

his soule, whiche is the very lyfe," and in his wife's remembrance.¹⁴ A widow must keep her husband's image in her mind "with reverence rather than with weeping," however, and she must "take for a solempne and a great othe to swere by her housbandes soule, and let her live and do so as she shal thinke to please her housbande, beying nowe no man but a spirite purified, and a divine thyng."¹⁵ Indeed, a widow should take her dead husband for "her keper and spy, not only of her dedes, but also of her conscience." Then she will handle her household to please him, bring up her children likewise, and try to make him happy he has left a wife so well able to carry her responsibilities. And then his soul shall have no cause "to be angry with her, and take vengeance on her ungraciousness." But a widow must end her weeping in time lest she give the impression that she thinks her husband "clene deade, and not absent."¹⁶ Vives regrets young widows are not properly instructed by their priests in these matters at funeral feasts instead of being told to be of good cheer for they will not lack a new husband. He accounts for the priests' promising to provide new husbands to wid-

¹⁴ Just as her friends live with her whether absent or dead if she keeps a lively image of them imprinted on her heart by thinking of them daily, so her husband will wax fresh in her mind. But if she forgets him, he dies for her indeed. (*Op. cit.*, Book III, Ch. III, p. 132.) Shakespeare makes use of this conventional attitude toward death in *Hamlet*. When the Queen fails to show proper respect toward her deceased husband, she causes a grave disturbance in her son's emotional reaction to her re-marriage. Indeed, Hamlet cannot look upon his mother's second marriage as anything but lustful in nature, and he expresses his attitude very clearly in the play which he has the strolling players present at Court in order to trap the guilty King and Queen into a confession of their heinous deed.

Player Queen: The instances that second marriage move,
Are base respect of thrift, but none of love:
A second time I kill my husband dead,
When second husband kisses me in bed. (III, ii, 185-8)

The player king comments ironically on men's fickle minds, and then says:

This world is not for aye, nor 'tis not strange,
That even our love should with our fortunes change;
For 'tis a question left us yet to prove
Whe'r love lead fortune or else fortune love. (III, ii, 203-6)

.
Our wills and fates do so contrary run
That our devices still are overthrown,
Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own:
So think thou wilt no second husband wed;
But die thy thoughts when thy first lord is dead.

Player Queen: Nor earth to give me food, nor heaven light!
Sport and repose lock from me day and night!
To desperation turn my trust and hope!
An anchor's cheer in prison be my scope!
Each opposite that blanks the face of joy
Meet what I would have well, and it destroy!
Both here and hence pursue me lasting strife,
If, once a widow, ever I be wife! (III, ii, 214-26)

¹⁵ Vives, *op. cit.*, Book III, Ch. III, p. 132.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

ows by saying that priests "at bankettes" and funeral feasts "be well wette with drynke."¹⁷

Vives would have a widow cease the "trimming and arraying of her body" which in the past she had made beautiful for her husband's pleasure, for a widow will seem "to be seeking a bargayne" if she "garnyshe up and paynte her selfe."¹⁸ If she is a good woman, she will refuse offers from men, and entertain the thought of a second marriage only when compelled to do so, for "what body wolde not abhorre her, that after her fyrst housbandes deathe, showeth her selfe to long after an other . . . ?"¹⁹ To avoid all gossip about such "longing," she must "go covered" when "going abroad." So well was this advice received that in later years, Elizabethan widows who did not re-marry wore their black veils till they died. Vives also advises the widow away from home to go accompanied by a "good sad [grave] woman," and to go only to quiet churches where nobody will see her and where there are no occasions for trespassing during quiet prayer. Vives frequently warns the widow against the company of priests and friars: should she need advice, let her seek a wise, aged man, "past the lust of the world." An old man would count nothing dearer than truth and virtue, and would possess no such vices as the coveting of wealth which he might hope to gain by flattery. Especially would Vives have a widow avoid courts and resorts of men or gatherings of people. She should flee dishonest lawyers, attend to her own business only, should not try to act the sage to others, and, above all, must guard her chastity even more carefully than when a wife, though it cost her all her own goods.

To maintain a virtuous life, a widow should pray "more intentysely and ofter, and faste longer, and be moche at masse and preachynge, and rede more effectually" than ever before, wrote Vives, for she must devote herself to those things that will "mende her lyvyng and maners."²⁰ The best marriage for a widow is to Christ, he said, for as a wife tries to please her husband, so a widow should try to please Christ. He believed that a wife may conceal her real life while her husband lives, but when she has her freedom, her real nature asserts itself. Thus he advised a widow to conduct herself more warily than ever when praise of her virtue and dispraise of her vices could be attributed to no one but herself. While her husband lived he had a large share in both her good and bad traits, but even as he had joy in his wife's virtue, how much more does Christ rejoice in an amiable and pleasant widow.²¹

¹⁷ Vives, *op. cit.*, Book III, Ch. I, p. 30.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Book III, Ch. IV, p. 133.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.* Shakespeare also alludes to this conventional belief in Christ's special concern for the widow when the Duchess of Gloucester asks John of Gaunt where she can "complain" about the death of her husband. The Duke answers "To God, the widow's champion and defence." (*Richard II*, I, ii, 43)

Vives would have widows "well worn with age" and past "the pleasures of the body" devote themselves to holiness. Such a person should be unknown before her husband's death but afterwards should become famed for her virtue. Vives was more concerned about an old widow's health than were many of the writers of domestic books: thus he would have an old widow labor more in mind than in body, pray more, think more of God, fast less, and weary herself less with long walks to church. She should do all good possible for those needing her ministrations, but she should give her aged body proper care so that she might live long to give wise counsel and set a good example. Becon later agreed to all this, but with less consideration for the weakness of the flesh. He preached the necessity for a widow's concern with matters of God, busying herself with prayers, attending sermons, visiting the sick and the needy, and washing the feet of saints.²² This pious, aged widow had been praised by Le Grand in *The Boke of Good Manners*.²³ During the years that followed, the widow's modesty was an ideal trait for all widows to acquire regardless of their position in society. Even the redoubtable Lady Russell was always extremely careful of her modesty. When she besought her nephew, Sir Robert Cecil, to help the widowed Earl of Kent, she insisted that he keep her part in the matter secret because of her widowhood.²⁴

One finds many sketches of the widow in the *Characters* that increased so rapidly in favor among writers of the seventeenth century. Fuller speaks of widows with no little commiseration:²⁵

Of the two sexes the woman is the weaker; of women, old women are most feeble; of old women, widows most woeful; of widows, those that are poor, their plight most pitiful; of poor widows, those that want children, their case most doleful; of widows that want children, those that once had them and after lost them, their estate most desolate; of widows that have had children, those that are strangers in a foreign country, their condition most comfortless.

²² *Op. cit.* In this discussion Becon said young widows might marry again if they would have children and rule their homes virtuously.

²³ Translated and printed by Caxton in London in 1487. Le Grand had written: "Wydw-hede is the astate the whiche succedeth to maryage / and ought to be mayntened in grete humylte / in grete devocyon / in symple habyte in pylgrumages / & other good dedes. For in wydowhede ought the vanytees of y^e worlde to be renoūced & for her partye to y^e ende y^t the love y^t hath ben in maryage be remembred & recorded in wydowhede / for it is a sygne of lytell love & of lytell trouth in maryage whā after y^t the two partyes have long lyved together / after y^e deth of one of y^e partyes y^t other succedeth / & abandonneth her to y^e worlde in vanytees & in deduyte [diversions]." Le Grand admitted that young widows might marry, however, for "trouth it is y^t Saynt Ierome approveth not y^e seconde espousayles but yf there have be ryght good cause in theyr youghte. Alwaye he concludeth y^t it is better teschewe synne by maryage / than to synne in wydowhede."

²⁴ See Violet Wilson: *Society Women of Shakespeare's Time* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1925), p. 171.

²⁵ Thomas Fuller: Character of a widow, from *The Holy State and the Profane State*, 1642.

Francis Lenton's Character of *A Country Widow*²⁶ tells much of the grossly cynical attitude of the time. She is

a broken ribbe of Adam turned loose into the world againe, and is searching for a new Bonesetter, and newly polishing herself for a second edition, or more faire impression. She hath lately beene somewhat mortified in memory of her deceased, but hath suddenly gathered up her crummes, and given herself out a brace of hundreds more thenere his estate was worth, besides his debts and legacies, wheras her validity proportionable can scarce absolve those. She carrieth her selfe smooth, demure, and familiar, yet at a certaine distance, lest too much familiarity should breed contempt, and then she may cough long enough for one to court her. If shee be yong she is capable of copulation, and the sooner caught in that conjunctive ceremony; if past her prime, the more libidinous, subtile, and dangerous, having a double wil, the one from her deceased, the other from her wydowhood, by the last of which you may but perhaps buy a pigge in a poke; if shee be wealthy, all your comfort is, she is her owne woman, and not subject to avaricious counsell of peevisish parents, who care not though the girle cuckold him so the carle be scraping. She is an object to many, and it's well if but one light upon her. She hath already tasted of Mandraks, and likes the fruits so well, that shee longs to graft more imps upon that stocke. She is now trim'd up for the next faire, where if you can bargaine for her, you may ride her home with a twinde thread, and then make the best of an ill bargaine.

Though Fuller and Lenton wrote their *Characters* toward the middle of the seventeenth century, Shakespeare presents a like slandering of the widow in his account of the gossip about the marriage of Edward IV to the widow, Lady Grey. The King, overcome by love for the virtuous widow, had broken his contract to the sister of the King of France and had married a woman far beneath himself in rank, and possessing several sons. One feels he is listening to an Elizabethan noble ranting about a scandal that has caused factions at Court, for the words of Shakespeare's Duke of Buckingham are typically Elizabethan in their abuse of character:

A care-craz'd mother to a many sons,
A beauty-waning and distressed widow,
Even in the afternoon of her best days,
Made prize and purchase of his wanton eye,
Seduc'd the pitch and height of his degree
To base declension and loath'd bigamy:

The injustice of Buckingham's words is felt most keenly after reading Shakespeare's account of how the widow repulses the lustful advances of King Edward.²⁷ Overbury describes both the "ordinary" and the "virtuous" widow.²⁸ The former, he says,

²⁶ *Characterismi, or Lenton's Leasures expressed in essayes and Characters never before written on*, London, 1631.

²⁷ For the full story, see *III Henry VI*, III, ii, 1 ff. and *Richard III*, III, vii, 176-88.

²⁸ See Edward F. Rimbault, ed., *The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Thomas Overbury*, 1856.

is like the heraulds hearse-cloth; she serves too many funerals, with a very little altering the colour. The end of her husband begins in teares; and the end of her teares begins in a husband. She uses to cunning women to know how many husbands she shall have, and never marries without the consent of six midwives. Her chiefest pride is in the multitude of her suitors; and by them she gaines: for one serves to draw on another, and with one at last she shoots out another, as boyes doe pellets in elderne guns. She commends to them a single life, as horse-coursers do their jades, to put them away . . . If she live to be thrice married, she seldome failes to coozen her second husbands creditors . . . like a too-ripe apple, she falls off her selfe; but he that hath her, is lord of a filthy purchase, for the title is crack't.

The virtuous widow, on the other hand,

is like the palm tree, that thrives not after the supplanting of her husband. For her childrens sake she first marries, for she married that she might have children, and for their sakes she marries no more. She is like the purest gold, only imployed for princes medals, she never receives but one mans impression; the large joynture moves her not, titles of honour cannot sway her. To change her name, were (she thinks) to commit a sin should make her asham'd of her husbands calling. She thinks she hath travel'd all the world in one man; the rest of her time therefore she directs to heaven. Her maine superstition is, she thinks her husbands ghost would walk, should she not performe his will: she would do it were there no prerogative court. She gives much to pious uses, without any hope to merit by them: and as one diamond fashions another, so is she wrought into workes of charity, with the dust or ashes of her husband. She lives to see her selfe full of time; being so necessary for earth, God cals her not to heaven, till shee be very aged: and even then, though her naturall strength faile her, she stands like an ancient *pyramid*; which the lesse it grows to mans eye, the nearer it reaches to heaven. This latter chastity of hers, is more grave and reverend, than that ere shee was married; for in it, is neither hope, nor longing, nor feare, nor jealousy. She ought to be a mirrour for our yongest dames to dresse themselves by, when she is fullest of wrinkles. No calamity can now come neare her; for in suffering the losse of her husband, she accounts all the rest trifles. She hath laid his dead body in the worthiest monument that can be: she hath buried it in her owne heart. To conclude, she is a relique, that without any superstition in the world, though she will not be kist, yet may be reverenc'd.

How much Lenton's and Overbury's *Characters* of the ordinary widow were due to the corrupt life about them at Court is a matter of conjecture.²⁹ At any rate, in Overbury's two sketches we find the gross cynicism of the disillusioned man of the world and the didacticism of the conduct books presenting directly opposed points of view.

We have seen how Francis Lenton's *Character* of the widow refers to fortune hunters who married rich widows for their dowries. In general, the Elizabethan plays and popular literature, as well as the conduct books, condemned this practice. Bartholomew Batty's dialogue, which he calls "most pleasant to reade and most profitable to practise," sol-

²⁹ See Edward Abbott Parry: *The Overbury Mystery*, London, 1925.

emly urged young men to marry maids instead of widows because maids would be more tractable.³⁰ Plays and court sketches in prose or verse usually adopted the cynical tone when referring to marriage with widows for their money.³¹ In Middleton's play, *The Widow*, the cures listed by Ricardo for the ills of man consist of: "your college for your old standing scholar, your hospital for your lame-creeping soldier, your bawd for your mangled roarer, your open house for your beggar, and your widow for your gentleman."³² Then he adds a little later, "Why, dost think if I had kept my lands still, I should ever have looked after a rich widow? alas! I should have married some poor maid. . . ." When the widow of this play was tricked into marriage,³³ the scene must have been especially amusing to Elizabethans, whose risibilities were always tickled by seeing the tables turned on one supposedly adept in all methods of cozening the unwary. Chapman, apparently, took such a special interest in the widow theme³⁴ that one wonders just how much the playwright's own life influenced the plot and characterization in *Sir Giles Goosecap*.³⁵ There is no wishful writing in *The Widow's Tears*, however. Here the play is so bitter as to be unconvincing in its harsh realism; here the author unmasks the decadence of his age.³⁶

The domestic books were seldom kind to widows: they sometimes tolerated them as a sort of necessary evil. Alexander Niccholes, how-

³⁰ *The Christian Man's Closet*, London, 1581. Widows, he said, look rather to be obeyed because of their acquaintance with love matters as well as for the fact that they bring greater wealth than maids do, and he warns men against becoming slaves to dowry.

³¹ In the crazed speech of Shakespeare's Timon of Athens, who denounces the avarice of the world while he digs roots, is a reference to the pursuit of a widow with a fortune. Timon holds up a root as if it were precious gold, and says with a leer, ". . . this is it That will make the wappen'd [stale] widow wed again." (*Timon of Athens*, IV, iii, 38) ³² I, ii, 5-9.

³³ The suitor has two friends concealed in the room when the widow enters. He asks her what she would do if a man would do as she desires, love her for herself alone, and when she answers, "Why, here's my hand, I'll marry none but him then," the two friends come from their hiding place and declare her espoused to the fortune hunter. (A promise to marry given while the lovers clasped hands before witnesses was binding to both parties.)

³⁴ Chapman must have had more than an artist's interest in the theme. See *Chapman's Letters in the Athenaeum* of March 23, 1901.

³⁵ The hero is a sort of Duke Orsino, though he possesses a genuine love of learning and is bereft of worldly possessions. At first the widow scornfully refuses to match herself with one so inferior to herself socially, but suddenly her pedantic love of learning sees in the poor hero with his sincere love of philosophy and his melancholy attempt to square life with a poet-philosopher's ideals one who might not make so bad a match after all for one of her tastes. So, unemotionally but suddenly, she accepts her lover on the common ground of knowledge, the seal and crown of their united minds.

³⁶ *The Widow's Tears* was probably presented in 1605-6. The younger brother, Tharsalio, must marry wealth, for his elder brother, Lysander, has inherited the family fortune. Like most Elizabethan gentlemen, Tharsalio has traveled abroad, but according to his sister-in-law, Cynthia, to no good purpose. In her estimation his travels have "poisoned the very essence of his soul" and caused him to see the whole world in a false light. To her complaint, he answers lightly, "No, sister, it hath refined my senses, and made me see with clear eyes, and to judge

ever, condemned widows as if to do so were a matter of principle.³⁷ To marry a widow, he said, was to thank death if she was good and to upbraid death if she was evil; it meant also to take a woman half worn, to become involved, often, in trouble over her estate, to take one for whom marriage meant ease and lust more than affection and love, and to cause the dead husband to accuse by her tongue and be flattered by comparison with the next husband.³⁸ He admits the laws of God and

of objects as they truly are, not as they seem, and through their mask to discern the true face of things. It tells me how short-lived widows' tears are, that their weeping is in truth but laughing in their sleeves; all which I believe as a Delphian oracle, and am resolved to burn in faith." (I, i, 14-6) Still laughing, he proceeds to the house of the widow Eudora, to woo her in spite of the vow she has taken against re-marriage, which, as she haughtily goes her way, she alludes to by protestations of her virtue. Tharsalio cynically attributes her actions to gross sensuality, and impudently secures the assistance of a bawd to rouse in her that animalism which he wishes to expose for the mere delight of such an achievement. He is successful, and thereby shocks his older brother and his wife Cynthia, and when the brother rebukes him, Tharsalio laughs scornfully at him for believing any faithful woman ever could exist or ever could be found. To this Lysander replies there are such women, only to be met with his brother's taunt, "when the metal was purer than in these degenerate days. Of later years much of that coin hath been counterfeit, and besides, so cracked and worn with use, that they are grown light. . . ."

Tharsalio's cynicism, of course, is due to his lack of faith in Cynthia as well as in other women. He believes that should his brother die, she would soon marry again, and in his eyes such a marriage would endanger the family fortune. He says she has so possessed his brother's heart with her "vows and disavowings, sealed with oaths, of second nuptials, as, in that confidence, he hath invested her in all his state, the ancient inheritance of our family; and left my nephew and the rest to hang upon her pure devotion; so as he dead, and she matching (as I am resolved she will) with some young prodigal, what must ensue, but her post-issue beggared, and our house, already sinking, buried quick in ruin?" (II, iii, 79-86) Thus, the villainous younger brother's motivation in the play is a jealous fear for the paternal estate, and in order to justify this fear, the author places doubt on the mother's love for even her son by causing her to persuade her husband to leave all the child's fortune in her control.

Tharsalio tells Lysander how he feels about Cynthia's nature, and the two brothers determine to put her to trial. During the subsequent action, much of which is lurid in its bitter irony as it builds point by point to the conclusion that widows have no honor, the reader's interest is carried along in spite of his reluctance. In the course of the plot Lysander is supposedly murdered, and Cynthia is induced to propose the substitution of his body, by the side of which she grieves, for the stolen body of another. She is willing to part with the supposed corpse of her husband because she has already succumbed to the charms of a soldier who persuades her that he will be killed if a body entrusted to his custody is not found. Cynthia's sudden love for this soldier persists even when he confesses to her that he is the "murderer" of her husband. This, however, carries the unmasking of the widow too far. Tharsalio's cynical amusement when he discovers Cynthia in the arms of this soldier (who is the disguised Lysander) is also forced. This exaggerated cynicism is specially repellent when, with malicious triumph, Tharsalio bares to the world what he believes the worst of human weaknesses. Not only does he show disbelief in a widow's virtue, but even in a widow's pretense to purity and constancy. To him all women, especially widows, are lustful creatures, and though he takes it upon himself to effect a reconciliation between his brother and sister-in-law after Cynthia's unmasking, he does so because he is convinced the family estate will now be secure in the family succession.

³⁷ *A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving*, 1615. (Also reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, 1808-13, Vol. II.)

³⁸ At the death of the first husband, he continued, widows learn how to dispose of the second and so are in league with death, "for they can harden their owne hearts like iron to breake others that are but earth; and I like them the worse that they will marry, dislike them utterly that they marry so soon. . . ." He wondered how a man can love a living person who

man do not forbid marriage between youths and old widows, but "no pollicy on earth commends them; man and wife should be two in one: but can heate & cold, youth & age, be in one and not bee repugnant . . ." He was sure widows married so often

Because they thinke variety of men,
May make old pleasures new delights agen.³⁹

The ballads took up the hue and cry against the widow, and no doubt gave many an Elizabethan a chuckle while the widow met the attack with whatever grace was at her command. The ballads were often written in two parts, and illustrated satirically a popular proverb or a catch phrase of the day. The following stanzas are taken from a ballad based on "Strike While the Iron Is Hot," and which advises young men to marry widows "while there is store." It was sung to the popular tune of *Dulcina*.⁴⁰

Wealthy Widowes now are plenty,
where you come in any place,
For one Man theres Women twenty,
this time lasts but for a space:
She will be wrought,
though it be for nought,
But wealth which their first Husband got,
let Young-men poore
make hast therefore,
Tis good to strike while the Irons hott.

Now is the Wooing time or never,
Widowes now will love Young-men,
Death them from their mates did sever,
now they long to match agen,
they will not stand
for House or Land,
Although thou be'st not worth a groat,
set foorth thy selfe,
thou shalt have Pelfe,
If thou wilt strike while the Irons hott.

he knows will forget him as soon as he is dead; to him widows were "but summer swallowes for the time of felicity, that will hang about ones necke as if they have never armes for others embracing, or as though extreame affection without controule could not but thus manifest it selfe and break out"; then, if the second husband dies, "shee shall bee churched againe," and tell to another all about the husband just dead. He criticised younger brothers and poor knights who sometimes made use of the birth and title of widows, for they were very unwise to make such a choice if they could get a maid with anything like a dowry; a widow would make them "pay for the jewell that another hath stollen." Though a widow might have a fairer face than a man's, he was sure she had a heart more deformed than the devil's. To marry such was to build upon a broken foundation. (*A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving*, pp. 27-28.)

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁴⁰ See Hyder E. Rollins: *A Pepysian Garland* (Cambridge, 1922), pp. xxi and 229, 234 and 239.

In the second part, sung to the same tune, occurs the following stanza:

If a poore Young-man be matched
 with a Widdow stord with gold,
 And thereby be much inritch'd,
 though hes young and she is old,
 twill be no shame
 unto his Name,
 If he have what his Friends have not,
 but every Friend
 will him commend
 For striking the Iron while twas hott. (Martin Parker)

Another ballad on the same theme of wealthy widows laments the plight of maids who, because they cannot compete with the riches of widows, are left without husbands. This ballad was sung to the tune of *The Golden Age*.⁴¹ A stanza from the first part is as follows:

A young man need never take thought how to wive,
 For widowes and maidens for husbands do strive,
 Heres scant men enough for them all left alive,
 They flocke to the Church, like Bees to the Hive.
 Oh this is a wiving age.
 Oh this etc.

The second part of the ballad continues in the same strain to the same tune; the last stanza runs as follows:

My song unto Virgins is chiefly directed,
 Who now in this age are little respected,
 Though widowes be chosen and maids be rejected,
 They wil be esteemed, though now they'r neglected.
 Yet not in this wiving age.
 Yet not etc.

Another ballad carries on a dialogue among a woman re-married, a widow, and a young wife, and is sung to the tune of *The Wiving Age*.⁴² It is in reality an answer to the ballad above, for it presents a widow who is wise enough to avoid the pitfalls of marriage. The first part is a dialogue between the widow and the woman re-married. The following stanza illustrates the theme:

Oh, woe is me, Gossip, that e're I was borne,
 I marry'd a Boy, that now holds me in scorne,
 He comes among whoores both evening and morne,
 While I sit at home, like a creature forlorne.
 Oh, this is a coozening Age,
 Oh, this etc.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

The second part, sung to the same tune, introduces the young wife. She too has been unfortunate in marriage, her husband having won her by fables of his wealth, but instead, presenting her with poverty and five little children, "four Grls, and a Sonne." The widow says with some spirit:

Your speeches will make me still willing to tarry,
 Sith Widdowes and Batchelors both doe miscarry;
 Yet 'tis said in *London*, that when we doe bury
 Our Husbands, next moneth we are ready to marry:
 Oh, this is a lying Age,
 Oh, this. . . . etc.

Perhaps this brief survey will indicate how little favor was shown widows in literature of the sixteenth century. Another source of Elizabethan feeling about widows is the scandalous gossip found in letters of the time. Limited space does not permit our going into this field, however.⁴³ We may well question what prompted the unfriendly, suspicious, even abusive attitude toward the Elizabethan widow. Turning to the original cause for much of the upheaval in thought and feeling during the age, we note the Protestant tendency to throw into the discard all that was connected with Mariolatry. Naturally widows suffered far more through the overthrow of the worship of virginity and the chivalric ideal of woman on a pedestal than did maids or wives. Their supposed knowledge of life put men on the defensive in any relationship they might have with widows. No matter how innocent their motives, widows were never given the benefit of the doubt in anything that invited suspicion regarding their conduct. The old war between the sexes, which, from as far back as the memory of man, had always centered more or

⁴³ A brief reference will indicate the tenor of much of this gossip. John Chamberlain in a letter to Dudley Carlton on November 22, 1598, writes: "The Queen's attorney Sir Edward Coke has married Lady Hatton; all are surprised that after many likely offers, she declined to a man of his quality." (*Calendars of State Papers, Domestic*, Vol. CCLXVIII, No. 22) G. B. Harrison reports two further events concerning the gossip over this marriage. "There are rumours," says the first report for February 10, 1599, "that Master Edward Coke, the Attorney General, hath been notoriously cozened by the Lady Hatton, whom he married in November last. A servant of the Countess of Warwick declareth openly that he was lately sent with a message to Lady Hatton from his lady; and knocking upon the chamber door a gentle woman came and told him that he could not speak with Lady Hatton as she was newly brought to bed with a son. Further, that she was forward with child when she was married, and no marvel that Master Attorney wept sitting with the Judges, for he has gone up and down ever since his marriage like a dead man; that the child was by one of her servants who was sent away with a piece of money." (*The Elizabethan Journals*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1939. See *A Last Elizabethan Journal*, pp. 7 and 31.) This gossip was quite dissipated the following August 4th, however, by the second report which states the fact that Lady Hatton "is recently brought to bed of a daughter, which stops the mouth of the old slander. It was christened with great solemnity, the Queen, by her deputy the Lady of Oxford, and the Countess Dowager of Derby being godmothers, and the Lord Treasurer godfather." That gossip of so cruel a nature could be spread broadcast against people in high places makes one wonder what was the case of the unprotected widow of humble station in life.

less on the widow, now made her more than ever the target at which to hurl the bitterest invectives against the sex. How much did the Biblical and the Pauline teaching in particular affect this attitude?

The domestic books constantly referred to Paul's advice concerning the duties and position of the widow in the home and social life about her. But long before the time of Paul the Old Testament had taken a definite stand against the widow. Now, with the Bible in the hands of the common people for the first time since the founding of Christianity, what was the result? It must have been a most convenient tool for men who quoted from it to support their contentions concerning the supposed unstable character of the widow. In the precepts for priests set forth in the book of *Leviticus*, we find the widow classed with the divorced woman, with the profane woman, and with the harlot.⁴⁴ *Ezekiel*, in the ordinances for the priests, finds among women who have lost their husbands only the widows of priests to be worthy of marriage.⁴⁵ But Paul was much more detailed than the Old Testament in his instructions concerning the widow. Again and again his statement about its being better for widows "to marry than to burn" was referred to by Elizabethan domestic books and by preachers of the gospel.⁴⁶ In an Epistle to Timothy, he set forth specific rules of conduct for old and young widows, and as he gave the rules he gave the reasons for their stringency.⁴⁷ It is interesting to note the distinction Paul draws between

⁴⁴ 21:14. "A widow, or one divorced, or a profane woman, a harlot, these shall he not take: but a virgin of his own people shall he take to wife."

⁴⁵ 44:22. "Neither shall they take for their wives a widow, nor her that is put away; but they shall take virgins of the seed of the house of Israel, or a widow that is a widow of a priest."

Shakespeare uses the harlot-widow as mistress of a tavern. Examples of such a character are Mistress Overdone in *Measure for Measure* (II, i) and Mistress Quickly, who calls herself a poor widow of Eastcheap. Note especially the first scene of Act II in *II Henry IV* for the mirth attached to such a characterization.

⁴⁶ *I Corinthians*, 7:8-10. "But I say to the unmarried and to widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they have not continency, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn."

⁴⁷ *I Timothy*, 5:3-15. "Honor widows that are widows indeed. But if any widow hath children or grandchildren, let them learn first to show piety towards their own family, and to requite their parents: for this is acceptable in the sight of God. Now she that is a widow indeed, and desolate, hath her hope set on God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day. But she that giveth herself to pleasure is dead while she liveth. These things also command, that they may be without reproach. But if any provideth not for his own, and specially his own household, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an unbeliever. Let none be enrolled as a widow under three-score years old, having been the wife of one man, well reported of for good works; if she hath brought up children, if she hath used hospitality to strangers, if she hath washed the saints' feet, if she hath relieved the afflicted, if she hath diligently followed every good work. But younger widows refuse: for when they have waxed wanton against Christ, they desire to marry; having condemnation, because they have rejected their first pledge. And withal they learn also to be idle, going about from house to house; and not only idle, but tattlers also and busybodies, speaking things which they ought not. I desire, therefore, that the younger widows marry, bear children, rule the household, give no occasion to the adversary for reviling: for already some are turned aside after Satan."

"mere widows" and "widows indeed," and to observe in Paul's words the key expressions for rules about a widow's proper conduct as set up by Vives and his followers. Comparison of the Pauline teaching with that of the domestic books of Elizabethan England shows a very close adherence among the "good" people of this time to the Biblical idea of being on guard against the weak and foolish and evil nature of widows who were not "widows indeed."

But there were other factors involved in this distrust of widows. Enough has been said about the influence of women sovereigns during the sixteenth century to make it unnecessary here to do more than refer to the effect of Elizabeth's reign upon woman's status in the economic life of the age. Never, perhaps, had woman been so close to her coveted position of equality with the male sex and to economic freedom. But this economic freedom was enjoyed in general by widows only, for the dutiful wife gave into her husband's hands full control of her wealth when she exchanged vows with him at the marriage ceremony. The widow, especially when left with a fortune,⁴⁸ was thereby possessed of a tangible independence, but only, of course, if she grasped the full significance of her new freedom. True, society tried in every way possible to curb her power, not the least of these efforts being the command for young widows to marry early.⁴⁹ It is quite possible that the whole suspicious attitude toward widows played a most effective part in preventing rich widows from realizing to the full their power and independence at this time. The epithet of "lusty widow" might hurry a delicate, sensitive woman into the shelter of marriage quite as often as fear of fortune hunters drove her to submit to her guardian's choice

⁴⁸ One of the husband's first duties was to provide for his wife in case of his death. Shakespeare alludes to this practice when he has the irrepressible Petruchio make his bombastic promises to Katherine's father as he asks for the daughter's hand in marriage. (*Taming of the Shrew*, II, i, 123-7)

And, for that dowry, I'll assure her of
Her widowhood, be it that she survive me,
In all my lands and leases whatsoever.
Let specialties be therefore drawn between us,
That covenants may be kept on either hand.

⁴⁹ In order to re-marry, a widow of the sixteenth century had to possess a good dowry. Shakespeare takes advantage of this fact to extol the character of Mariana, who, with the forgiving nature of a Griselda, seeks to defend her unfaithful husband's life even though the Duke will provide her with a far better chance in life and thereby make Angelo atone for the grief he has caused this abused woman. "Your husband has 'mock'd you with a husband,'" says the Duke, and then he makes this proposal:

Consenting to the safeguard of your honor,
I thought your marriage fit; else imputation,
For that he knew you, might reproach your life
And choke your good to come. For his possessions,
Although by confiscation they are ours,
We do instate and widow you withal,
To buy you a better husband. (*Measure for Measure*, V, i, 414-21)

of a husband to protect her wealth.⁵⁰ On the other hand, strong-minded widows might use their new freedom to their own advantage, and instead of being married off by parents or guardians to some suitor not to their liking, they might insist on a man who was more acceptable to them. Such an attitude might soon bring down upon their heads the accusation of preferring young men to those of "more suitable" years. Then, too, scarcity of men because of the wars complicated the marriage problem to some extent. More important, however, was the fact that

⁵⁰ Ben Jonson satirizes the helpless state of a rich, handsome, but stupid young widow caught in a net of rascally fortune hunters. (See *The Alchemist*.) Dame Pliant is a widow in charge of her brother, who is

. . . a gentleman newly warm in' land, sir,
Scarce cold in his one and twenty, that does govern
His sister here; and is a man himself
Of some three thousand a year . . . (II, vi, 58-61)

This widow is "but nineteen at the most," and has come up to London "to learn the fashion." She wants to know her future, but is afraid to go to a fortune teller lest "it will be blown abroad, And hurt her marriage." But she is told by the tricksters in the house of Lord Love Wit that widows

Are ne'er of any price till they be famous;
Their honor is their multitude of suitors.

The brother has vowed "she'll ne'er marry Under a knight," and straightway the rascals provide a "Spanish knight" for the match. (They are using the lord's house in his absence, and are later dismayed at his unexpected return.) When the widow objects to the match, her brother says, "Gods lid, you shall love him, or I'll kick you." To this she answers meekly, "Why, I'll do as you will ha' me, brother." (IV, iv, 34-6)

The "Spaniard" is a Gamester, who desires the widow and her fortune for himself. He sets about winning the prize by warning the girl of the danger she is in. He laments the fact that she is only handsome and not wise, but she is oblivious of this judgment passed upon her. The Gamester states her position thus:

. . . You are,
They say, a widow, rich; and I'm a bachelor,
Worth nought; your fortunes may make me a man,
As mine ha' preserv'd you a woman.
Think upon it,
And whether I have deserv'd you or no. (IV, vi, 11-14)

To this she answers pliantly, "I will, sir."

But the dishonest butler has other plans. When he is surprised by his master's return, he decides to save himself for having let the house to the villainous alchemist and his whore by procuring the rich young widow for Lord Love Wit. He has asked the "plaything" Doll what she thinks of the widow, and is satisfied with her answer "A good dull innocent." So he proceeds with his plan. When he broaches the trick he intends to play against his erstwhile accomplices, his master is delighted. The plan succeeds without mishap, and the master congratulates himself over his widow and fortune as follows:

. . . That master
That has received such happiness by a servant,
In such a widow, and with so much wealth,
Were very ungrateful, if he would not be
A little indulgent to that servant's wit,
And help his fortune though there were some small strain
of his own candor. (V, v, 145-52)

The brother is pleased with his sister's new husband, the clever servant is saved by his agile wit, the widow gets a lord to husband her wealth, and all ends happily as the alchemist and his whore run away, outwitted by their superiors.

the whole inheritance system left younger brothers with but two alternatives for the life they wished to live: a rich marriage or losing caste by entering a trade.

These last two factors, coupled with the extravagance of the age, gave rich, capable widows a power that would naturally draw the barbs of rejected suitors or of maids with small dowries. Unfortunately, it takes time to bring woman from a state of almost servile dependence in thought and act to a point of standing upon her rights. Such women were rare in Elizabeth's reign, and their scarcity gave greater weight to the arrows of their opponents. No wonder the sharpest of these darts were poisoned with scandal ingeniously fabricated to suit the occasion. Thus, when women with courage to take what they wanted availed themselves of their opportunity, they roused the ire of all the envious ones. Though men had long exercised this privilege, it was so great a novelty for women to do so that society was not slow to accuse widows of taking undue advantage of individuals within their power. It is an unpleasant fact that women themselves were as severe as men in this wholesale condemnation. Most certainly a widow's abuse of her advantage did not justify the cruel slander of widows in general which the satirists of the age disseminated through plays, bawdy stories, and ballads.

Elizabethan delight in the sensational and the sensual made such literature very popular, and helped to strengthen the prejudice against the widow, which, born of the war between the sexes, had been augmented by the Pauline teaching. That this prejudice still exists in the undercurrent of thought can be tested by a question or remark calling for a quick, unpremeditated answer from almost any individual. One is amused or made thoughtful by the unconscious scorn or cynicism of men and women who thoughtlessly refer to widows today as did their ancestors in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The foregoing analysis attempts to indicate some of the influences which, during the sixteenth century, were active in strengthening the suspicious attitude toward widows. One of the most powerful of these influences, the Bible and its Pauline doctrine, seems to have lost its hold over the thinking of the twentieth century, and we may well wonder what future students will hold responsible for the survival in us of this old prejudice. Perhaps they will think as we do: that regardless of changed mores and altered attitudes toward life itself, there is always present the fundamental war of the sexes. Or, when they study our literature with its smart plays and clever satire and serious or sophisticated attempts at realism, will they find in our life and times certain characteristics which will provide them with some other satisfactory explanation for our attitude toward the "gay" and "merry" widow?

SHAKESPEARE, SOUTHAMPTON AND AVISA

HENRY DAVID GRAY

Stanford University

*Willobie his Avis*a was entered on the Stationers' Register on September 3, 1594, and published in London the same year, though the "Epistle to the gentle and courteous Reader" was dated "From my chamber in Oxford this first of October." The Epistle is signed by Hadrian Dorrell, who protests that he is publishing (without his consent) a poem by his very good friend and chamber fellow, Henry Willobie, a young man and a scholar of very good hope who had recently enlisted in her Majesty's service abroad. As others have pointed out, this is not the sort of thing that one does, but many have pretended to find an old manuscript or something, in order to arouse curiosity and interest in the reader. Scholars are now fairly well agreed that everything in the book, including the "Hexameton¹ to the Author" in praise of the work, in which Shakespeare is named as writing *The Rape of Lucrece*, is the composition of one man, whose name was neither Dorrell nor Willoughby; and that the added matter in the 1596 edition was also his work.

That William Shakespeare and Henry Wriothesley, the young Earl of Southampton, might be the W. S. and H. W. who are introduced in a prose narrative which breaks into the poem when it is about two-thirds over has been believed by many scholars. The theory reached the dimensions of two volumes in Acheson's discussion of it,² and is therefore much too intricate to be analyzed in a short paper. The answer to this and other such theories was well given by Alden in his Variorum edition of Shakespeare's Sonnets (p. 482). I must let his statement suffice for the nature of the poem as a whole as well as for the objection to its interpretation as a satire:

¹ A coined word (not included in the N. E. D.) which seems to indicate a poem of six stanzas with six lines to the stanza. Most of the cantos of the *Avisa* are in this form, the variations occurring almost wholly when one of the characters is dismissed or another introduced. Cantos 3, 10 and 40 are double "hexametons," and there are six instances where the canto drops to five or rises to seven stanzas. I suggest that the "In Hexamiter verse" of the title page may be a publisher's error (not repeated in later editions) due to the author's use of this word.

² Arthur Acheson, *Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. London, 1913; *Shakespeare's Sonnet Story, 1592-1598*. London, 1921. New edition, 1933.

Suppose it to be the desire of the author to ridicule Sh. and his friend for having been concerned in an intrigue with a country woman, the circumstances being (if we take the story hinted in the Sonnets as our authority) that Sh. had first won her as his mistress, and had been supplanted by his friend. There are various satiric tales which might be devised to represent such a situation; but among them, it is safe to say, one would hardly find such a plot as this,—a virtuous lady is wooed by many lovers, and resists them all; H.W. joins the number, and after a repulse, consults W.S. for advice; W.S. bids him persist and hope for success; he does persist, but meets with a final repulse and adieu. If this be a burlesque, or satire, of the story which has generally been read in connection with the triangle of characters in the Sonnets, the difficult irony of a Defoe or a Swift pales into insignificance beside the ambiguity which its author attained.

Alden's splendid sanity had seemed to me like the warm rays of the sun before which the fantastic frost figures on the window pane melt quickly away. Moreover, the *Avisa* seemed to me too early to reflect or satirize the situation indicated in the so-called "story of the Sonnets." 1594 was the year *Lucrece* was published and its dedication to Southampton was simply not what a man would write immediately after an incident of this sort. I was therefore disconcerted recently, on reading an article in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* for 1939,³ at finding myself convinced that shortly *after* May 1594 the sonnets in question must have been written. I must assume without proof that this is so, since the point would require quotation of the whole article, and admit freely that in this, as in everything connected with Shakespeare's sonnets, there is bound to be much diversity of opinion.

Between May 9, when *Lucrece* was entered, and September 3, when the *Avisa* followed, or perhaps October 1, when the Epistle to the Reader was dated, there was time for the Sonnets story to take place and for Willobie (as I shall call him for convenience) if not to write the whole of his *Avisa* at least to add the portion concerning H.W. and W.S. The *Avisa* as a whole is a dull and moral poem though written in glib and jingling verse, with a strongly religious coloring. It was written when the vogue of the sonnet sequence was at its height, and distinctly shows the influence of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, to which the Epistle to the Reader makes a direct complimentary reference. It accepts the convention of the cruel mistress, impossible to attain because (as in Sidney's case) she is married to another. Willobie makes a story in dialogue of *Avisa's* chastity and fidelity: before her marriage she resists the improper overtures of a nobleman, and after marrying a poor

³ Robert H. Darby, "The Date of Some Shakespeare Sonnets," *Shakespeare-Jb.*, LXXV (1939), 135-8.

man of her own class, who loves her devotedly as she does him, she repels "Ruffians, Roysters, young Gentlemen, and lustie Captaines"; and last but not least she withstands the siege of Henry Willobie himself. It must be noted, and this is most important, that after the momentary appearance of W.S. the poem continues in the same vein as before; indeed, Willobie's presentation of his own hopeless love is apparently meant to be the grand climax. He concludes his plea with a set of five uninterrupted "hexametons" each capped with an Italian phrase; and these five poems are certainly not part of a satire.

If the W.S. episode had not been included nobody would ever have imagined that *Willobie his Avis* was a satire; and this comes so late in the poem that the gentle and courteous Reader would be unable to reconstruct the impression he had been getting. Nor should he. Avis herself does not appear at this point; and when we next see her she talks on in the same way as before. The natural assumption is, it seems to me, that Willobie had his poem ready or nearly ready for publication, and perhaps was having difficulty in finding a publisher or a patron; a friend might have told him what the trouble was: that the poem was tedious, too moral, too monotonous; and then—it was the summer of 1594—the latest London sensation burst upon him: William Shakespeare, who had been deeply devoted to the landlord's daughter at the *George Inn* (near enough to London for everybody to know the place and many to know the dark bewitcher) had been supplanted by his friend the young Earl of Southampton, Harry Wriothesley; and yet the two men were as devoted as ever! Shakespeare, who had won Southampton's favor a year ago with his amazingly beautiful and sensuous narrative poem of *Venus and Adonis*, now in more intimate and glowing terms dedicated to him his *Lucrece*. The expert on love had the younger man in his tutelage, it seems! The association of the glittering young earl with a common player was itself remarkable enough to set tongues wagging; add to this that Southampton was giving a fortune to escape marriage with the Lady Vere (the Earl of Oxford's daughter, Lord Burghley's granddaughter) to whom he had been betrothed for three years, and was devoting himself to an innkeeper's daughter. Any book which showed H.W. in love and W.S. giving him advice would be sure of a large sale. Was something by way of variety, a bid for popular appeal, needed for *Willobie his Avis*? Let me suggest, by way of a venture, that the young author tore open his poem and inserted a bit of prose narrative, as follows:

H.W. being suddenly infected with the contagion of a fantastical fit at the sight of A, pineth awhile in secret grief; at length, not able any longer to endure the

burning heat of so fervent a humour, bewrayeth the secrecy of his disease unto his familiar friend W.S., who not long before had tried the courtesy of the like passion, and was now newly recovered of the like infection; yet finding his friend let blood in the same vein, he took pleasure for a time to see him bleed, and instead of stopping the issue he enlargeth the wound with the sharp razor of a willing conceit, persuading him that he thought it a matter very easy to be compassed, and no doubt with pain, diligence and some cost in time to be obtained. Thus this miserable comforter, comforting his friend with an impossibility, either for that he now would secretly laugh at his friend's folly, that had given occasion not long before unto others to laugh at his own, or because he would see whether another could play his part better than himself, and in viewing afar off the course of this loving Comedy, he determined to see whether it would sort to a happier end for this new actor than it did for the old player. But at length this Comedy was like to have grown to a Tragedy by the weak and feeble estate that H.W. was brought unto. . . .⁴

The 1599 edition of *Willobie his Avis* was called in by the authorities, and this may also have happened to the 1596 edition of which there are no copies extant; and this means that somebody of considerable importance was offended. We know the initials of everybody at this time who was of high enough standing to have a book called in.

It has been objected that the situation even in the W.S. episode does not accord with the story of the Sonnets. But this we should expect. Even if some of Shakespeare's sugared sonnets were already being passed about among his private friends, it is safe to say that the Sonnets-story ones were not open to Willobie's inspection. Neither he nor his gossips would be likely to know the real explanation of the affair. Perhaps the best guess seemed to be that Shakespeare had recovered from his infatuation; for how could any man be so devoted to a successful rival? The wise ones may have remarked that in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (usually dated 1593) the hero having at last overcome all

⁴ I have modernized the spelling. In a discussion in which the text is not involved we do not give Shakespeare the handicap of reproducing the old copies, and there is no good reason why we should do so in the case of his contemporaries.

The two other men who are designated by initials instead of by such names as Nobleman and Caveleiro would (on the above theory) be the objects of a personal attack. But the heading for the Second Trial of Avis, after her marriage, promises four sets of would-be enticers, all of whom she "quickly cuts off," and only Caveleiro appears. Then we have the Third Trial with a much longer heading and one that seems definitely directed at somebody; whereupon we meet D. B. (in later editions lengthened to Dan. Ben.) who does not live up to the new heading any more than the Nobleman and the Cavalier have done. And neither does his successor, D. H. They may have originally filled out the Second Trial group, and have been lifted out and given initials to widen the scope of the satire. D. H. is called Dydimus Harco, and Dr. (Gabriel) Harvey may perhaps have been intended. Avis says to him: "From this your sage and sober cheer I thought some grave advice to hear"; and Dy. Har., as he is called in later editions, suggests—faintly—some of Nashe's attacks on Dr. Harvey.

obstacles to his marriage blandly offers the lady to his friend the villain who had tried to steal her. We have not done talking yet about the outrageousness of that offer. I have no excuse to give in extenuation;⁵ I can only say, as it may have been said at the time, that such an idea could not even have occurred to Shakespeare unless he was suffering under an obsession as to the rights of friendship.

And so it is that I find myself in agreement with Harrison⁶ when he says:

Nor, again, does it necessarily follow that H.W. ever met the real *Avisa*. It would be quite in keeping with the modes of Elizabethan allegorical satire for him to be brought into the book as her wooer if he were known to have had similar adventures elsewhere.

Yet Harrison suggests that the *Avisa* was written by a follower of Raleigh, and was directed against the Essex-Southampton (and therefore Shakespeare) faction; and he bases his argument on the hypothesis that the real *Avisa* and her poet were neighbors and followers of Raleigh, down in Dorsetshire.

I am quite ready to go down to Dorsetshire with Harrison, though for a different reason. In 1596 there appeared a poem called *Penelope's Complaint*, by Peter Colse, written in the same stanza as *Avisa*, which the author both admires and criticises. Immediately, in his 1596 edition, Willobie makes answer to P.C. It is all a most obvious hoax for stirring up interest by a pretended fight: Willobie is himself Peter Colse. *Penelope's Complaint* is dedicated to the Lady Edith, wife of the right worshipful Sir Ralph Horsey, and includes laudatory poems to Sir Ralph and Lady Horsey and to their daughter Grace. These tributes indicate a fairly close acquaintance with the whole family; and as Horsey was a neighbor of Raleigh we have brought our poet down to Dorsetshire.

But this goes against Harrison's "very tentative conclusions," since Horsey was opposed to the atheism of Raleigh and his group; and the religious attitude of the author of *Avisa* would set him also against Raleigh. This would not range him with the Essex-Southampton party: he would find small comfort there for his pious sentiments. But where the real *Avisa* lived seems to me a matter of no importance whatever.

⁵ It has been said that Julia has to faint. It would be better to bring in the Outlaws a few lines sooner and have them elect the disguised Julia as their captain in place of Valentine! *Anything* would be better than what we have. Shakespeare could have got out of it if he had felt the need of doing so.

⁶ *Willobie his Avisa*. 1594 Ed. by G. B. Harrison. Bodley Head Quartos, No. 15. Oxford, 1926.

We are told in Canto 1 that it was in western England and that her father was a mayor; but when H.W. and W.S. enter (and the prose narrative with them) at Canto 44, we find ourselves, presumably, in London with Southampton and Shakespeare, not wandering through the lanes of Dorsetshire. "Tell what she is," says W.S., and H.W. replies:

Seest yonder house, where hangs the badge
Of England's saint . . . ?

The *George* or *St. George Inn* need not be within actual sight of London, but still it should be "yonder," and not a hundred miles away. The very fact that a definite reference of this sort is now introduced, after 44 cantos have gone their dull and moral way, is another proof that the scene of the story has abruptly changed and that a pointed allusion to particular people is intended.

A *George inn* as close to London and to Shakespeare as Shoreditch was suggested by Miss Angell,⁷ who proposes Lady Oxford, wife of the constantly bobbing up Seventeenth Earl, as the original of an *Avisa* who is the opposite of everything the satire pretends she is. Miss Angell had me frightened for a time by her analysis of the figures represented on the title page of the original edition; but in the discussion which followed⁸ I found myself comfortably in agreement with Baldwin, who says: "If the compartment was designed originally for *Willobie his Avis*, clearly the designer also took the poem at face value as a story of supreme chastity."

There were, I suppose, several inns near London which were named for England's patron saint. There was one in Southwark next to Chaucer's Tabard. If Shakespeare had a particular tavern in mind when he wrote:

Saint George, that swing'd the dragon, and e'er since
Sits on his horse back at mine hostess' door, (*K. John*, II, i, 288.)

we may guess (if we choose) that the one the Dark Lady presided over came into his mind. And if I were to choose, for imagination's pleasure, a particular *George Inn*, it would be like that described by Miss Crosbie,⁹ close enough to London, for it is in Mary Russell Mitford's "Our Village":

Where the lane leaves the highroad there is an inn that has stood for nearly three hundred years. Its brightly painted sign shows St. George methodically ram-

⁷ "Light on the Dark Lady," by Pauline K. Angell, *PMLA*, LII (1937), 652.

⁸ *PMLA*, LV (1940), 598.

⁹ "Our Village," by Mary Crosbie, in *Britain To-day*, 18 October, 1940.

ming his lance down the throat of a green and writhing dragon. A few miles away is the flat-topped hill on which saint and monster fought it out, legend says. The hill is called Dragon Hill. . . .

There is, of course, no doubt that the *Avisa* contained objectionable matter. The fact that it was called in is proof of that. And the author himself informs us, in the Apology, how it was that offense had been taken: names had been set to initials which he never intended!—they “have framed names to letters of their own devices; and they have imagined places of their own placing.” Hadrian Dorrell, who in the first edition had debated the problem as to whether there was a real Avisa and concluded that there probably was, now hastens to assure us that there never was any such woman. He keeps repeating that Avisa is a feigned name for a mere personification of Chastity; and he writes a new poem on “The Victory of English Chastity” in which no less an authority than Pallas Athena is made to testify to this effect. He supplies an etymology to show that A’VISA means *not seen* and therefore his heroine was an abstract quality. Forgetting that he had made Willobie a young student (or hoping that his readers would forget it), he now claims that this poetical fiction had been written at least thirty-five years ago. In other words, something seems to have happened which made our poet think that not only an Apology was called for, but that a flat denial would be wise.

Acheson in his *Mistress Davenant* attributes the authorship of *Willobie his Avisa* to Matthew Roydon, and to substantiate the claim he includes Roydon’s *Elegy* on the death of Sidney which has the same stanzaic structure as the *Avisa*, and he presents a large number of parallels between the two poems. When one reads as many “hexameters” as there are in the *Avisa* and gets into the swing of the verse, he is likely to read other stanzas of this pattern in the same way and to believe that the same poet must have been responsible for all. But this would be like attributing all anonymous limericks to the same author because of the natural swing of the form. On closer examination we find that Roydon’s *Elegy* is the work of a much superior poet, and also that by substituted feet and shifting of the cesura it gets quite away, at times, from the monotonous iambic trot of the *Avisa*. Willobie’s is barrel-organ verse, but Roydon seems to think and feel his way through his stanza. When Willobie uses a cesura it comes mechanically plump in the middle of the line; while Roydon distributes his pauses, at times, with fine effect. Note, not the similarity, but the *contrast* in this “parallel” given by Acheson (p. 136):

ROYDON: And you, compassionate of my woe,
 Gentle birds, beasts and shady trees,
 I am assur'd ye long to know
 What be the sorrows one aggrieves;
 Listen yet then to that ensu'th
 And hear a tale of tears and ruth.

WILLOBIE: Farewell that sweet and pleasant walk,
 The witness of my faith and woe,
 That oft hath heard our friendly talk
 And gave me leave my grief to show.
 O pleasant path, where I could see
 No cross at all but only she.

Acheson quotes the tributes paid Roydon by his contemporaries, including that of Meres who calls him "worthy of comparison with the great poets of Italy." One would not speak in such terms of the poet who wrote *Willobie his Avis*. Harrison, curiously, was impressed by the parallels and refers to the tributes, though he had spoken of the *Avisa* as written in "mediocre verse." Acheson includes also several other poems, most of them in the same stanza, which he attributes to Roydon with varying degrees of assurance. Of these, "The Sturdy Rock" seems to me to come closest to the *Avisa*. Acheson comments:

The Sturdy Rock is subscribed "M. T." in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1596). There is no record of any poet of that date with these initials. May the initials not be a misprint for "M. R."? The verses can be matched almost line for line in *Willobie his Avis*. I have little hesitation in attributing them to Roydon.

The only difficulty is that this poem had appeared twenty years before, in the first edition of this most popular of the Elizabethan anthologies, and in every edition is given to M. T., who is, says Rollins, Master (John) Thorn.¹⁰ There are a dozen more poems with the same stanza form included in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, some of which suggest Willobie in the alliteration, in the abundance of classical references, and some distinctly in the phraseology. They are all by different authors. Note especially 58, 94, 123. "Of a Contented Mind," by Lord Vaux, is in longer line couplets, as is Willobie's "The Praise of a Contented Mind," which he includes with the *Avisa*. I give, as a specimen, the final couplet of each poem:

Wherefore for virtue's sake, I can be well content,
 The sweetest time of all my life, to deem in thinking spent.
 Of all the brave resounding words which God to man hath lent,
 This soundeth sweetest in mine ear, to say *I am content*.

¹⁰ *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, Edited by Hyder Edward Rollins (Harvard Univ. Press, 1927), p. lxiii.

The natural conclusion seems to be that our imitative young poet (who was so impressed by the seventh Commandment that he didn't notice the eighth) steeped himself in this and in other books of poetry and took whatever he wanted for his own use. The similarities to Roydon's *Elegy* are easily explained as due to his having seen this poem in manuscript.¹¹

Though the author of *Willobie his Avis*a did not have the lyric glamor and lilt which makes so many of his contemporaries still fresh and delightful at unexpected moments, yet it seems quite possible that he continued to write acceptable verse and won for himself a place in some of the Elizabethan Miscellanies. In Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1600) there is a poem which I feel very sure was written by him. It is number 90: *That he is unchangeable*. This is an "hexameton" but with pentameter lines. Though the movement is therefore different, it reminds me strongly of Avis'a's replies to her lovers. In this case it is a man, the poet himself, who is speaking. Whether written by Willobie or not, it shows the same attitude and the same sincerity that Avis'a does, and makes it more impossible to suppose that Willobie was satirizing the heroine of his poem. We find again some of his favorite allusions: the Phoenix, Cressida, Jason; and each stanza ends with a variation of Avis'a's perpetual theme. We can almost hear her saying,

"My choice is made, change he that list for me,
Such as I am, such will I always be."

The tag, *Jamais aultre*, is simply, in reverse, the "Always the same AVISA" with which her letters are invariably signed. The last stanza will perhaps be sufficient to indicate the sentiment and tone of the poem; and with these barrel-organ strains of our amiable, moralizing poet we take our leave of him:

What gained fair Cressid by her faithless change
But loss of fame, of beauty, health and life?
Mark Jason's hope, that ever loved to range,
That lost his children and his princely wife.
Then Change farewell, thou art no Mate for me,
But as I am, so will I always be.

Jamais aultre

¹¹ As many more poems with the same stanza may be found in *Tottel's Miscellany*, and the same characteristics are frequently present. Note especially 192, 223, 237. Acheson includes also "The Ballad of Constant Susanna," saying that it "is evidently the poem referred to by Roydon [as not yet published] in the *Apologie*, and so closely resembles his other work that there can be little doubt of his authorship." But this ballad may be found in the Roxburghe Collection (I, 190), where the editor (William Chappell) notes that it was licensed to Thomas Colwell in 1562-3.

JAGGARD'S *CATALOGUE OF ENGLISH BOOKS*

OLIVER M. WILLARD

Stanford University

Ideas are transmitted through many channels, of which some are more conveniently studied than others. Excellent facilities exist for observing the flow of ideas through the Elizabethan and Jacobean book trade. One of the documents, the unique copy of Jaggard's *Catalogue of English Books* seems to deserve reprinting as a precursor of the *Term Catalogues* and particularly as evidence of what certain London booksellers had in stock late in 1618 and early in 1619.

In scope, method, and execution it is much inferior to the *Catalogue* published by Andrew Maunsell in 1595. Both catalogues were collected by booksellers, but Maunsell's was intended as a genuine and permanent contribution to learning, while Jaggard's was no more than a temporary convenience to the book trade. In Divinity and Science, Maunsell tried to record every book that had ever been published in English. In a larger range of subjects, Jaggard was content to enumerate only those books of which fairly large stocks were at the moment available to the trade. Although he gives some earlier editions that had remained in print for several years, at least 75% of his editions were printed between 1616 and the first part of 1619.

I cannot pretend that most of the books in his catalogue are tremendously important to the present-day scholar. But if the study of bibliography is to reach its fullest growth and make available for the study of important works the most perfect facilities and techniques, it must be willing to examine some rather trivial and tedious matters. A. Edward Newton, the Rosenbach Fellow of Bibliography, distinguishes genuine from pseudo-bibliography according to the importance of the individual books studied. By similar reasoning, one might distinguish real genetics, which studies men, from pseudo-genetics, which studies fruit flies. But biologists have found some of their most important general principles from the study of trivialities, and they are therefore unwilling to make the distinction. Bibliographers would do well to follow their example.

The only general significance of Jaggard's *Catalogue* is, then, to give us a bookseller's-eye view of the trade in ideas around the year 1618. For those interested in the principles governing the preservation and

destruction of early books, it has a further significance by giving fairly exact descriptions of books known to have existed at a particular time. The descriptions are, however, much less copious and exact than Maunsell's. Observing which survive and which do not, we can speculate on the causes for their survival and destruction.

To make any rational use of a document, one must ascertain its date, method, and purpose. No one has, I believe, done this for Jaggard's *Catalogue*. One sees it mentioned in various discussions of Jaggard and of book-trade bibliography, but I have never seen its significance explained, perhaps because the only available evidence is very difficult to interpret. For we have only the rather ambiguous title and the contents themselves to go on. With proper treatment these can tell us a good deal, but had I suspected how laborious the treatment would be, I would never have undertaken it. It consists of identifying all the books in the catalogue, in order to ascertain when they first appeared, what were the latest editions known to Jaggard, how many of them are no longer known to survive, what publishers advertised in the catalogue, and what of their publications are included. In the end, the investigation was rather inconclusive, for I was not always able to ascertain the facts I needed with the exactitude that one expects in bibliographical studies. Taking my conclusions with a good many grains of salt, however, one can for the first time get some idea of the aim and scope of this catalogue.

When I discussed the ambiguity of Jaggard's title-page with Professor Craig, he suggested the possibility that a leaf with more explanation might have been lost. But we rejected the possibility when we examined the collation of the volume. The leaf could not be inserted after the title, since the text begins on the verso of the title-page. The second signature, B, seems just an even half sheet, with all four pages covered with text, but as I have not examined the copy itself, I cannot be certain that the two leaves are conjugate. If they are, the unlikely possibility of a leaf of explanation at the end could be more firmly rejected. It would almost certainly have been conjugate with one of them. But the mere possibility of an explanatory leaf can never be actually disproved. Anyone who has anything to do with early books knows that proving that something is inconvenient or unreasonable is not the same as proving that an early printer never did it.

To interpret the other data, the *Catalogue* must first be dated as precisely as possible. Absolute precision is not to be expected. As far as I can see, all scholars are agreed that entry in the Stationers' Register is fairly good evidence that an edition is to be printed very soon. Isolated instances of entries to stay the publication of important books are known,

but they are not considered typical. In general, profits on the publication of ordinary run-of-the-mill books were so small that one did not spend one's sixpence until publication was fairly certain. Comparing Jaggard's *Catalogue* with the Register will therefore give us fairly good evidence of when his advertisers made up their lists for him. I suspect that some of them may have given him titles before entering them.

I believe that the lists were made up about the middle of September, although they included a few books that were to be published later. Up to 10 September our publishers were very active. They are responsible for eight of the nine entries between 6 August and 10 September. Of their eight entries one is a play and is not eligible for inclusion, another should be included and is not. All of the other six are advertised. Then the proportion falls off suddenly. The last entry for a book in the *Catalogue* is 13 February 1619. From 10 September to that date our publishers enter twenty-eight titles, but only three or four of them appear in the *Catalogue*—the identification of one of them is dubious. I suppose that they expected to print these few books, and therefore gave their names to Jaggard. Most of the others can be identified, and were printed in 1619. But I presume that the lists had gone off to Jaggard before publication was certain, or at least before it was certain whether they would be available in time for Easter Term. It is then substantially correct to say that Jaggard's *Catalogue* contains only books entered up to 10 September 1618. They were expected to be in print between 9 October and Easter Term (14 April 1619).

Most of the books in the *Catalogue* had, however, first appeared much earlier, as may be seen from Table A. For every book that I could identify with reasonable exactitude, I have given the earliest date when it is known to have existed: either an edition or an entry in the Register, whichever is earlier. From Table A and the summary of it in Column A of Table C, it is evident that Jaggard's books were by no means new. To interpret the "lately" of Jaggard's title quite fairly, we must, of course, realize that he meant new editions and not necessarily titles published for the first time. Even giving the word this interpretation, however, we must still stretch a point to justify it, as may be seen from Table B and Column B of Table C. A good many of the titles would now be considered remainders, since about a quarter of them had been in print for more than three years.

It will be noticed that the percentages in Table C are only approximate. I did not wish to give them an appearance of exactitude unwarranted by the data from which they were compiled. There are probably large systematic errors in Tables A and B. The earliest and latest dates

are, of course, the earliest and latest known to me; in general they are the earliest and latest known to the editors of the *Short-title Catalogue*. Anyone who uses that admirable work knows that it is full of errors, and knows also that errors are inevitable if a work of such generous scope is to be finished in any reasonable time. Some of the books may, therefore, have first appeared earlier than I knew, and the most recent edition in Jaggard's time may also be unknown to me. Thus Table A shows that many of the books first appeared long before the compilation of Jaggard's *Catalogue*. For a few books the date may be too early, if the *Short-title Catalogue* gives entries or editions that do not actually exist. But the general tendency of error will be in the other direction: entries or editions are more likely to be omitted than to be erroneously dated too early. Thus the first publication of the books may be said, on the average, to have been even earlier than the tables suggest.

On the other hand, the dates of the last publication before Jaggard's *Catalogue* are subject to exactly the opposite systematic error. I could not fix the first appearance of these two hundred books by tracing them back through the entire Register. I had to use the entries given by the editors of the *Short-title Catalogue*. I could, however, often supply later editions from sources that were not available when the *Short-title Catalogue* was compiled. I have photographs from the Folger Library of their annotated copy of the *Short-title Catalogue*. Numerous additions from it will be found in the notes. I got some from my own copy, which has been corrected and annotated from various sources, of which the most important is Dr. Pollard's own copy. Some years ago he graciously deposited it at the British Museum for a couple of weeks for me to use. From these sources and from gaps in those series of editions which have been numbered by their printers, one can see that some of the editions extant in Jaggard's time have only barely survived, or have vanished entirely. We may therefore suppose that the editions advertised with Jaggard were actually more recent than my figures suggest.

To ascertain what proportion of the total book business of the time is represented in Jaggard's *Catalogue*, I made photographs of all the entries in the Register for six years before it came out. On them I marked all the entries given by the editors of the *Short-title Catalogue* for books that I identified in Jaggard. Then I marked all the other entries to our publishers, and read them, one at a time, against the lists in Jaggard. My account of the entries during those six years is therefore substantially exact. Sporadic errors are caused by variation between the titles in the entries, in Jaggard, in the books themselves, and in the *Short-title Catalogue*, but I can think of no reason why the errors

BOOKS IN JAGGARD'S *Catalogue*: NUMBER OF BOOKS FOR EACH YEAR¹

TABLE A			TABLE B		
First appearance			Last edition before the <i>Catalogue</i> was printed		
YEAR					
*	3	1619	14	***	
*****	34	1618	58	*****	
*****	32	1617	32	*****	
****	21	1616	30	*****	
***	13	1615	11	**	
****	21	1614	11	**	
***	14	1613	8	**	
*	4	1612	6	*	
**	8	1611	2		
*	3	1610	2		
*	6	1609	2		
*	6	1608			
		1607			
*	6	1606	1		
		1605			
	2	1604	1		
	1	1603			
		1602			
*	4	1601	1		
	2	1600			
		before			
	9	1600			
189 Total			179		

might tend systematically in one direction rather than in another. During the three years 1616–18, Jaggard's publishers advertised in his *Catalogue* 84 of the 144 titles that they entered (58%). Their 144 entries are 36% of the 401 made by the whole trade during those three years. The 84 titles advertised with Jaggard are 21% of the total of 401.

Some of the 60 titles that our publishers entered without advertising them were presumably out of print when the lists for Jaggard were made up. Some would be omitted by the negligence evident throughout the whole undertaking. Some seem to have been considered too frivolous or trivial to deserve mention: plays, news books, manuals of popular piety,

¹ Notice that I was able to establish the first appearance of books in ten more cases than I could satisfactorily establish the last appearance before the *Catalogue* was published. Each asterisk indicates five (or the major part of five) books.

TABLE C

SUMMARY OF TABLES A AND B
(percentages in round numbers)

Column A	Column B
First appearance	Last edition before the <i>Catalogue</i> was printed

YEARS		
20%	1618-19	40%
50%	1616-19	75%
	before	
50%	1616	25%
75%	1613-19	90%
	before	
25%	1613	10%

TABLE D

THE PUBLISHERS ENTERING VARIOUS NUMBERS OF BOOKS
IN THE YEARS 1616-18

Jaggard's advertisers	Number of entries	Other booksellers
1	19	1
1	14	—
—	13	1
—	12	—
2	11	2
1	10	—
—	9	1
2	8	1
2	7	1
3	6	2
1	5	7
1	4	8
3	3	11
6	2	19
1	1	29
1	0	—
25 men entered		83 men entered
144 titles in all		257 titles in all ²

² In the whole trade 108 men entered 401 titles in all, of which 84 titles are advertised in Jaggard's *Catalogue*.

and strictly utilitarian works like tables of weights and measures, interest rates, *etc.* Jaggard may well have started the principle of exclusion later followed by the *Term Catalogues*. Certainly his lists are very different from some in the ends of early books, where popular books are enumerated as available to chapmen for general sale. This principle of exclusion is, however, only a general tendency, to be observed by comparing the entries of books that are advertised with those of others that are not. One must not expect to see this principle applied with absolute uniformity. Interpreting the conduct of seventeenth-century Englishmen, one may not assume without strong evidence that the more rational and consistent alternative is also the more probable.

We have seen that the publishers who contributed lists of their books were only a few of those functioning when the *Catalogue* appeared. In the three years 1616–18, some 83 men entered some 257 titles which do not appear in the *Catalogue*. Most of them were not very active as publishers of new books, as will be seen from Table D. Only a few really active publishers of new books failed to contribute. The others, apparently, did not have enough new titles in stock to make it worth their while to get in touch with Jaggard, or to make it worth his while to get in touch with them. Examining the flow of new titles from the average Jacobean publisher as he appears in my table, one is at first surprised to find it so sluggish a stream. But one soon becomes aware of a fact so obvious that it is not considered as often as it should be: the publication of new titles was a very slight part of the total activity of an early bookseller. Every entry in the Register was expected to give rise to hundreds, or even thousands, of retail transactions. The thirty men who entered only one book, and the twenty-five men who entered only two, in three years, probably had plenty to keep them busy selling thousands of copies of hundreds of books that were entered by the trade as a whole, or were still available from earlier editions.

I have found no documentary evidence whether Jaggard brought out his *Catalogue* twice a year as he intended to do. And bibliographical evidence is equally silent. In my unpublished doctoral dissertation at Harvard, I show that the survival and destruction of early books can be estimated from the proportions between copies now extant. When editions have been lost, extant editions usually survive only in one or two copies. When copies of all extant editions are abundant, one can usually be certain that the extant editions are all that were published. But, because it is a question of probability, a single copy of a single edition tells us nothing, especially about a very small book, since size is even more important than circulation in determining the preserva-

tion and destruction of books. If any more copies of the *Catalogue* were found, each would contribute to establishing a probability one way or the other: each additional copy of this edition would make other editions less probable; each copy of an edition previously unknown would make other undiscovered editions more probable.

This mountainous investigation has now brought forth its mouse of general conclusion: that Jaggard's *Catalogue* enumerates only those serious books of which certain rather active publishers had fairly large stocks available late in 1618. Because I had to collect a ridiculously large body of data to interpret this little book, I thought it worth while to add a few more for the sake of publication, so that no one would need to repeat the labor. If any one should do it, I would expect few of the specific figures in his tables to agree with mine, since we would be sure to disagree in the classification of individual items. But I would be greatly surprised if the *proportions* between his figures differed significantly from mine.

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF THIS EDITION

My only additions to the text are: (1) the numbers of the sections and (2) of the items in them, (3) the *Short-title Catalogue* numbers, and (4) the dates of the latest editions in print when the *Catalogue* came out. I have subtracted nothing except the catchwords and the *ibid.*, and *ibidem* which Jaggard's compositor uses erratically throughout sections 3 to 20 and for numbers 26.5 and 27.8, where they are obviously unnecessary. In sections 21–25 they are useful, and I have retained them, although, for convenience of inserting the *Short-title Catalogue* numbers, I have moved them in from the edge of the page, where they appear in the original. I have expanded a contraction in 20.3.

I have not troubled the printer to follow the physical form of the text, since that would be useful only for comparison with another copy, and I know of none. I have ignored: (1) the distinction between "swash" and plain italic capitals, (2) ligatures, (3) more than a dozen black-letter periods which appear sporadically throughout the text, (4) large initials to sections 2, 6, 7, 21, and 26, (5) the ornamented initial to section 1, (6) line endings, (7) long s, and (8) the form of headings.

An editor is obliged to use what common sense he possesses in his commentary, but he should not introduce his own peculiar brand of it into a text that is difficult to consult in the original, and that will be consulted only by specialists. I have therefore followed Jaggard even in what seem to me misprints. I have collected them in one place, with my emendations, and the reader can take them or leave them as he sees fit.

Since I have not intentionally altered readings in the text, any deviations from the original should be counted as defects of my edition, even though my reading may be better than Jaggard's. Caution in emending seems to be the prevailing tendency of modern scholarship, and a particular experience with this book showed me its value. My first tentative identification of 1.9, *Three Sermons*...by Walter Wylshman, was STC 25664, Robert Wilkinson, *Three Sermons*. That seems a very radical emendation, but I was able to justify others equally drastic. But in this particular case Jaggard's description was correct, and the book still survives as STC 26058. I did not find it first because the editors of the *Short-title Catalogue* spell the author's name "Wylshman."

For fifteen entries I found no editions extant, or editions too early to be those which were advertised: numbers 1.3, 11, 14; 5.18; 6.4; 7.3; 8.13; 9.10; 11.4; 18.5; 19.5; 20.4; 21.5; 25.2; 27.8.

A plus after the numbers from the *Short-title Catalogue* indicates my belief that the advertised edition is not described there. In my notes I describe the edition in question when I know it, or give reasons for supposing that one existed. A mark of interrogation indicates doubt about the identification. Reasons for it are given in the notes. The notes also attempt to justify my identification when the title in Jaggard differs materially from that in the *Short-title Catalogue*. Sometimes the editors of the two works differ in their abbreviation of long titles. Whenever it was possible, I have therefore gone to the book itself to settle their disagreement. Bracketed dates are supplied by the editors of the *Short-title Catalogue*. I have supplied none unless by an accidental misprint.

In my notes I have used the abbreviations of the *Short-title Catalogue* (STC) for libraries where books are preserved and for entries in the Stationers' Register (SR). McA refers to the McAlpin collection at the Union Theological Seminary in New York. Its books are not listed in the *Short-title Catalogue*. In several cases (3.1, 3.3, 5.10, 5.15, and 8.2) the formats given by Jaggard do not agree with those in the *Short-title Catalogue*. The authors may be describing different editions, or Jaggard may be mistaken, but mostly, I suspect, the error comes from the sources of the *Short-title Catalogue*. The authors of that work often assign formats by size rather than folding, and I have often corrected their errors about other books. But I could not get to see copies of the books in Jaggard, and have recorded the contradictions in my notes.

[A1] A | CATALOGVE | of such English Bookes, as | lately haue bene, and now
are in | *Printing for Publi-* | cation. | *From the ninth day of October, 1618.* | vntill
Easter Terme, next | *ensuing.* | And from this forme of be- | *ginning (though not*
in such perfect | manner as heereafter may be | *performed) to be continued* | for

euery halfe | yeare. | [Device: McKerrow, 283] | London printed by W. Iaggard, 1618. | ³

[A1^v]

DIVINITY.

1. Thomas Man.

1. An Amulet, or preseruatiue against sicknesse and death, in 12. by *A.M.* 17126 (1617)
2. *Forbels* Letter in 16. how a man may discerne the testimony of Gods spirit from his owne, in witnessing his Adoption. 11132 (1617)
3. *Beza* of predestination, in 12. ?
4. Way to true peace and rest in 4. by *Robert Brace*. 3925 (1617)
5. *Cartwrights* Catechisme, in 4. or a treatise of Christian religiō. 4313 (1616)
6. *Wheatley* of Regeneration, in 4. 25308 (1618)
7. Gods Husbandry, the first part; shewing the difference betwixt the Hypocrite and the true-hearted Christian, by *William Wheatley*, preacher of the word at *Banbury in Oxfordshire*. 25305 (1619)
8. *Samuels* Funerall, or a Sermon at the Funerall of Sir *Anthony Cope* Knight and Baronet, preached at *Banbury*, in 4. 12848 (1618)
9. Three Sermons, shewing what shold be in a sincere Preacher, by *Walter Wilshman*, in 8. 26058 (1616)
10. The Lauer of the heart, by *Gabriell Price*. 20306 (1616)
11. A Sermon preached at *Paules Crosse*, in 8. ?
12. *M. Cleuers* explanation on the whole Booke of the Prouerbs, 5378 (1615)
13. The practise of Christianity, or an Epitomy of *M. Rogers* seuen Treatises, set forth by *Stephen Eggerton*, in 12. 21221 (1618)
14. The summe of Religion, containing thirteen steppes: Twelue whereof a man may attaine, yet if hee misse the thirteenth, he may misse heauen gates, in 8. ?

2. Mathew Lownes.

1. Twelue Sermons preached by *Thomas Bastard*, M. of Arts, and sometimes Fellow of new Colledge in *Oxford*. 1561 (1615)
2. Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall policy, eight books, by *Richard Hooker*. 13716–16^a (1617)
3. The English Concord, in Answer to *Becans* English Iarre, by *Richard Harris*, Doctor in Diuinity. 12815 (1614)
4. *Trisagium*, or the three holy Offices of Christ, by Doct. *Fourme*. 11216 (1618)

A2

3. William Aspley.

1. An Exposition of the Dominicall and Festiuall Epistles and Gospels vsed in our English Liturgie throughout the whol yeare, with an exposition on the propper Psalmes, by *Iohn Boys* Doctor in diuinity, for *William Aspley*. in 4. 3460, 3463 (1615–16, 1614–15)
2. *Miscelanea*, prayers, meditations, memoratiues, by *Elizabeth Grimston*, 12409–11 (n.d.)

³ STC 14341. 4°. A4, B2; 11 pages of text including the verso of the title-page. Reproduced by kind permission of the Bodleian Library from the unique copy in their possession [Wood D.22 (1)].

3. Fiue sermons by Doct. *Fenton*, vpon Galat. 6, 7. Cant. 8, 6. Iob 6, 10. Gen. 15, 15. Heb. 6, 16. in 12. 10802, 10804 (1615, 1616)
4. *Barwicke* Bridge, or England and Scotland coupled, 3. sermons by Doctor *Wilkinson*, Psal. 133, 1. Iob 14, 1. Prou. 4, 3, 4. in 4. 25652 (1617)
5. A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse the 3. of March, 1610. by *Theophilus Higgons*. in 4. 13456 (1611)

4. Henry Fetherston.

1. Comfortable sermons vpon the CXXIV. Psalme, by *Dan. Dyke* in 4. for *Henry Fetherston*. 7396 (1617)
2. *Dauids* learning, or the way to true Happinesse, in a Commentary on the xxxii. Psalme, by *Thomas Taylor*, in 4. 23828 (1618)
3. Certaine diuine Tractates, with other sermons, by *Richard Hooker*, in fol. 13716–16^a (1617–18)
4. The righteous Mammon, or a sermon preached at the *Spittle* in 8. by *Ios: Hall*. 12711 (1618)
5. Contemplations vpon the principall passages of the holy story, the fourth volume, by *Ios: Hall*, in 8. 12656 (1618)
6. A sermon preached at a generall Assize at *Taunton*, by *William Sclator*, in 4. 21843 (1616)

5. Iohn Budge.

1. Sir *Iohn Haringtons* Epigrams, in 8. foure bookes, printed for *Iohn Budge*. 12776 (1618)
2. Mothers blessing in 12. by M. *Dorothy Leigh*. 15403–03^a (1618)
3. Golden Cabinet, containing the summe of morall Philosophy, 8. out of French by M. *Iuell*. 14618 (1612)
4. Fiery triall of Gods Saints, that suffered for the witnesse of Iesus, and for the word of God vnder Queene *Mary*. 4. 24270 (1612)
5. Staffe of Comfort, 12. by M. *Barnard*, Preacher of the worde at *Batcombe* in Somersetshire. Not in *STC* (1616)
6. *Cooper* byshop of *Galloway* on the 51. Psalme, 8. 5919 (1613)
7. *Samuell Smith* on the 6. of Hosea, 4. Not in *STC* (1616)
- [A2^v] 8. Two sermons preached in Scotland before the King, by Mast. *Cooper* byshop of *Galloway*, 4. Psal. 121, 8. Psal. 80, 17. 5944 (1618)
9. Defiance to death, by the same author, 12. 5918 (1616)
10. Two Treatises of the heauenly Mansions, and praise of patience 12. by the same author. 5943 ? (1616)
11. Mirrour of mercie, or the Prodigals Conuersion, by the same author, 12. 5927–28 (1614–15)
12. An exposition on the 119: Psalme, by the same author, 4. 5926 (1613)
13. A Diuine Herball, in fiue sermons, by *Thomas Adams* in 4. 111 (1616)
14. Anatomy of a Christian, by M. *Cooper* bishop of *Galloway*, in 4. 5913 (1613)
15. M. *Cooper* on the eight chapter to the Romanes, 4. 5936 ? (1612)
16. 3. heauenly Treatises, containing *Iacobs* wrestling with God, Conduit of Comfort, Preparatiue to the Lords Supper: By the same Author, in 8. 5939 (1618)
17. *Hornes* foure sermons of life and death, 8. 13819 ? (1613)

18. *Horne* on the 101. Psalme, with the parable of the lost son, 8. ?
19. His Catechisme, 8. 13824 ? (1617)
20. Theologicall Rules, and mysticall cases and secrets in Diuinity by *Thomas Wilson*, in 8. 25798 (1615)
21. Godly mans assurance; by *M. Cole*, 4. 5536+ (1615)

6. Walter Burre.

1. Certaine Sermons vpon diuers Texts of Scripture, by *Geruase Nid*, Doctor of Diuinity, in 8. 18579 (1616)
2. The summe of Christian Religion, by *Iohn Sprint*, 8. 23111 (1613)
3. Introduction to a deuout life. By *Francis Salis*, byshop of *Geneua*, translated out of French into English. 11319 (1616)
4. The force of Faith, or the diuine talke betwixt Christ and the woman of *Canaan*, in 12. ?
5. The Card and compasse of mans life, by *Richard Middleton*, Chaplaine to the Prince his Highnesse. 17870 (1613)

7. William Barret.

1. The pathway to prayer and piety, by *R. Hill* Doctor in Diuinity, in 8. 13476 (1617)
2. A workeman that needeth not be ashamed, or the faithfull Steward of Gods house, by *Charles Richardson*, in 4. 21019 (1616)
3. An explication of the sacred Doctrine of Diuinity, in 4. 10775 ? (1613)
- A3 4. The resolu'd Christian, exhorting to resolution, &c. by *Gabriel Powell*, in 8. 20153 ? (1616)

8. Nathaniel Butter.

1. *Byfield* on the Colossians, fol. 4217 (1617)
2. On *Peter* the 1. Epistle, the 1. Chapter, in 4. 4234 (1617)
3. *D. Fentons* Treatise, 4. with six Sermons. 10805 (1617)
4. His directions for reading the Scriptures, in 12. 4214 (1618)
5. *Salkeld* of Angels and Paradice, oct. 21621-22 (1613, 1617)
6. Doctor *Hals Quo vadis* of Trauell, oct. 12705,-05^a, -05^b (3 eds. 1617)
7. Doctor *Hals* Contemplations, fourth volume, oct. 12656 (1618)
8. The Righteous Mammon, a sermon, oct. 12711 (1618)
9. Doctor *Sheldons* Suruey of Popish Miracles. 22399 (1616)
10. A Guide vnto true blessednesse, by *Samuel Crooke*, oct. 6067+ (?)
11. The Truth of Tythes, by *R.G.*, in 4. 11507 (1618)
12. *Matthew* the Publican, a sermon by *E.V.* 24560 (1616)
13. *Moulin* of the calling of Ministers, in 4. ?
14. Foure birds of *Noahs* Arke. 6499 (1609)

9. Nicholas Bourne.

1. The Supplications of Saints, written by *Thomas Sorocold*, in 12. 22933+ (?)
2. Learne to liue, written by *Christ. Sutton*, D. in Diuinity, in 12. 23487 (1617)
3. Learne to dye, written by *Christ. Sutton*, D. in Diuinity, in 12. 23481 (1618)

4. Meditations on the Sacraments, written by *Christopher Sutton*, Doctor in Diuinity, in 12. 23493 (1616)
5. Threefold Resolution, written by *D. Denison*, in 12. 6597+ (1616)
6. Preseruatiues against sin, or how to liue and not sin, as doe the wicked, written by *Nathaniell Cole Batchel*. in diuinity, in 4. 5538 (1618)
7. A Sermon preached at *Hartford Sises*, written by *Iohn Squire*, Batchel. in Diuinity, in 4. 23116 (1618)
8. A Bride-bush, or a wedding Sermon, written by *W. Wheatley*, printed for *Tho: Man*, and *Nicholas Bourne*, in 4. 25296 (1617)
9. *Attersoll* on the Sacraments, printed by *W. Iaggard*, for *Nicholas Bourne*, in 4. 896-97 (1614)
10. His Catechisme, oct. 899+ (?)

10. William Bladen.

1. Lectures vpon the whole Epistle of *S. Paul* to the Phillippians, deliuered in *S. Peters Church* in Oxford, by *Henry Acray*, Doct. of diuinity, and late Prouost of Queenes Colledge: and now published for the vse of Gods Church, by C. P. master. of Arts, and fellow of the same Colledge, in 4. 245 (1618)
- [A3^v] 2. A helpe to true happinesse, or a learned exposition of the main and fundamentall points of Christian Religion. By *M. Paul Bayne*, sometimes preacher of the word in *Saint Andrewes* in Cambridge, in 12. 1642 (1618)
3. The foundation of Christian Religion, comprehended in three godly and learned Treatises, 1. Faith, 2. Hope, 3. Charity, written in French by *M. I. D'Lespine*, preacher of the Word of God in *Angeers*, and newly translated, in oct. 5188 (1612)
4. The difference of hearers, or an exposition of the Parable of the sower, deliuered in certaine sermons at *Hyton* in Lancashire, in oct. 12870 (1614)
5. The right and prerogatiue of Kings, against Cardinall *Bellarmino*, and other Iesuites, written in French by *Iohn Bede*, aduocate in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, and published by authority: translated by *Robert Sherwood*, in oct. 1782 (1612)

11. Samuell Man.

1. An exposition vpon the whole 8, 9, 10. 11. Chapters of the Epistle to the Romanes, in 4. by *Elnathan Parr*. 19319+ (1618)
2. The Patterne of wholsome words; or a Collection of such trueths as are of necessity to be beleueed vnto saluation, separated out of the bodie of all Theologie, in octa. by *Nicholas Byfield*. 4226 (1618)
3. *Abba* Father, or plaine directions concerning priuate prayer: also godly admonitions, touching time and the well vsing of it, in 12. by *Elnathan Parr*. 19312 (1618)
4. The practise of the faithful, containing diuers godly praieris & meditations for morning and euening, and other necessarie occasions, in 12. ?
5. The Grounds of Diuinity, plainly discouering the mysteries of Christian Religion, propounded familiarly in Question and Answeres, substantially proued by Scriptures; Expounded faithfully according to the writings of the best Diuines, & evidently applied by profitable vses, in octa. by *Elnathar Parr*. 19315 (1615) or 19316 (1619)

6. *Dauids Cost*, wherein euery one who is desirous to serue God aright, may see what it must Cost him, in 12. By *Daniell Rogers*. 21165 (1619)
7. The scope of the Scripture, wherein the ignorant are taught
[A4] the sauing knowledge of God, and of themselues, in octa. By *Henry Vesey*. 24694+ ? (?)
8. A sacred Septenony, or the seauen last words of our Sauior Christ vttered vpon the Crosse, with the necessary circumstances of the same; expounded in a Commentarie, in 4. By *Alexander Roberts*. 21074 (1614)
9. A Treatise of Witchcrafr in 4. by *Alexander Roberts*. 21075 (1616)

12. Edward Weauer.

1. A discourse of the state of true happinesse, by *Robert Bolton*, in 4. 3230+ (1618)
2. The Chariot and horsemen of Israel, by *Hen. Langley*, in oct. 15202 (1616)
3. *Dauids musicke*, by *R.B.* and *R.A.* in 4. 1935 (1616)
4. An Alphabetically Table of hard English words, the fourth edition, by *R.C.* in oct. 4886 (1617)
5. A Key of Knowledge for the opening of *S. Iohns* mysticall Reuelation, by *Rich. Barnard* in 4. 1955 (1617)

13. Iacob Bloome.

1. Map of mans mortality, by *John Moone*, Minister of the Word of God at *Shearshbid* in *Leicestershire*, in 4. 18057 (1617)
2. Two Treatises; the one of Repentance, the other of Christes Temptation, by *Daniel Dyke*, in 4. 7408+ (1618)
3. A Forme of Catechising set downe by Questions & Answers, by *Edward Elton*, preacher of the word in the parish of *Saint Mary Magdalens* in *Bermondsey* neere *London*, in octa. 7615 (1616)
4. The practise of Quietnesse: by *George Web* Minister at *Steeple-Ashton* in *Wiltshire*, in 12. 25166+ (1618)
5. The diuels Banket, described in six Sermons: by *Tho: Adams*, Minister of Gods word, in 4. 110 (1614)
6. Englands sicknesse: by *Thomas Adams*, in 4. 114 (1615)

14. Iohn Parker.

1. The Christians Iewell or treasure of a good Conscience, in 12. by *William VVorship* Doctor in diuinity. 25986 (1618)
2. The Posie of godly prayers, by *Nicholas Themilthorp*, Gent. 23935+ ? (?)
3. Great Britaines litle Calender or triple Diary, in remembrance of three dayes, viz, the 24 of March the day of his Maiesties proclamation; the fift of August the day of Gowries conspiracy; the fift of Nouember the day of our deliuerance from the Gun-powder treason. Whereunto is annexed, a short
[A4v] dissuasiue from Popery, by *Samuel Garey* Minister of Gods Word. 11597 (1618)
4. A Commentary vpon the Epistle of *S. Paul* to *Philemon*: wherunto is added a fruitfull sermon called the Schoole of Affliction, by *Daniel Dyke* Batchellor of diuinity. 7410 (1618)
5. A Commentary or Exposition on the first Epistle of *S. Paule* to the Thessalonians, written by *VVilliam Sclater*, Doctor of diuinity. 21834 (1619)

15. Ralph Rounthwait.

1. A plaine and familiar explanation of the ten Commandements, by Questions and Answeres, by *Francis Bunny*. 4100+ (1618)
2. The Christians Garment, a sermon preached in London by M. *Paul Bayne*. 1634 (1618)
3. A Treatise shewing howe a godly Christian may support his heart with comfort against all the distresses, which by reason of any affliction or temptation can befall him in this life, by N. *Byfield*, Minister at *Isleworth* in *Middlesex*. Not in *STC* (1619)
4. The cure of the feare of death, by the same Author. 4213 (1618)

16. Robert Mylbourne.

1. The complaint of a sanctified sinner, answered, Preached by *Edward Elton*, Batchellor in diuinity, and preacher of Gods word at S. *Mary Magdalens Bermondsey* neere London: and now by him published, in 4. 7610 (1618)
2. A Commentary vpon the first Chapter of the Epistle of S. *Paul*, written to the Ephesians, by M. *Paul Bayne*, sometime preacher of Gods word at S. *Andrewes* in Cambridge, in 4. 1635 (1618)
3. Six Euangelical Histories, of water turned into wine, the Temples purgation; Christ and *Nichodemus*, *Iohns* last testimony; Christ and the woman of *Samarita*, the Rulers sonnes healing, written by *Daniel Dyke*, Batchellor in diuinity. 7407 (1617)
4. Two Treatises, the one a most fruitful exposition vpon *Philemon*: the other, the Schoole of Affliction, both written by the aforesaid *Daniel Dyke*. 7410 (1618)

17. Iohn Grismond.

1. The mystery of Mount *Caluery*, by *Anthony Guauara* in 4. the second Edition. 12450 (1618)
2. Certaine seuerall sermons preached in S. *Gregories* London, by *Thomas Adams*. 120 ? (1618)

B1

18. William Iaggard.

1. A Christian Dictionary, written by *Thomas VVilson*. 25787 (1616)
2. A Commentary vpon the whole booke of the Epistle of S. *Paul* to the Romanes by way of Dialogue, written by the same Author. 25791 (1614)
3. A Commentary vpon the whole Booke of Numbers, by *VVilliam Attersoll*, Minister of the word of God at *Isfield* in *Sussex*. 893 (1618)
4. The blacke Deuill, containing three Sermons, by *Thomas Adams*, in 4. 107 (1615)
5. Sir *Francis Hastings* Meditations, in 16. ?

19. Nicholas Okes.

1. *Dauids* Repentance, vpon the 51. Psal. by S. *Smith*, oct. 22842+ ? (1616)
2. *Dauids* Blessed man, vpon the 1. Psal. by S. *Smith*, oct. 22840 (1617)
3. The great Assize, by S. *Smith*, oct. 22848 (1618)
4. The Key of *Dauid*, written by R. *Middleton*, in 12. 17873 (1619)
5. The sorrowfull soules solace, in 12. ?
6. The heauenly Progresse, written by R. *Middleton*. 17872-72^a (1617)

20. William Iones.

1. The Conflict betweene the flesh and the Spirit, or the fourth & last part of the Christian Warefare, written by *I. Downame*, Batchellor in Diuinity. 7139 (1618)
2. The Anatomy of mortality, written by *George Strode* vtter Barrester of the middle Temple. 23364 (1618)
3. *De Sabbaticorum Amorum periodis Chronologica à mundi exordio ad nostra vs[que] secula & porro digesto. Per Robertum Pontanum Caledonium Britannum: est veniere.* 20101 (1619)
4. Physicke for body and soule, prescribed by *Salomon*, written by *Pet. Muffet*. oct. ?
5. A Secular speech, written in Latine by *Abraham Scultetus*, containing the flourishing state of the Protestants Churches (this last hundred yeeres) translated into English, by *W.T.* 22124 ? (1618)
6. *Hull* vpon the Lamentations of *Ieremy*, 4. printed by *B. Alsop* 13931 (1618)
7. The Anatomy of a distressed soule in 12: for *Daniel Speede*, written by master *Robinson* 21096 (1619)

21. History.

1. The Abridgement of the Chronicle of *England* to this present yeare, 1618. by *Edward Howes*. Printed for the *Company of Stationers*. 23332 (1618)
- [B1^v] 2. The Actions of the Low Countreyes, written by *Rog Williams*, Knight: printed for *Mathew Lownes*. 25731 (1618)
3. The History of the world, by Sir *Walter Rauleigh*, Fol. Printed for *Walter Burre*. 20638–38^a (1617—2 eds.)
4. A relation to a iourney begun, An. 1610. by *Geo: Sandys*, Printed for *William Barret*. 21726 (1615)
5. An addition to the Arcadian History, by Sir *William Alexander*, Knight, *Ibid.* ?
6. *Crookes* Anatomy, or a description of the Body of Man, printed by *W. Iaggard*. 6062+ (1618)
7. 10. Following bookes of the Treasury of Ancient & moderne Times. *ibid.* 17936 (1619—pt. 2 only)
8. The Rape of *Proserpine*, translated out of *Claudian* in Latine into English verse, by *Gonard Diggs*, Gent. Printed for *Edward Blount*, in 4. 5367 (1617)
9. *Epictetus Manual*, *Cebes Table*, *Theophrastus Characters*, translated out of Greeke by *Iohn Healey*, in 12. *Ibidem* 10426 (1616)
10. *Lucans Pharsalia*, translated into English verse, by Sir *Arthur Gorges*, in Fol. *Ibidem* 16884,–85,–85^a (1614–3 iss.)
11. The true exemplary, and remarkeable History of the Earle of *Tyrone*, written by *T. G. Esquire*: printed for *R. Rounthwait*. 11524 (1619)
12. The first 5. books of *Amadis de Gaul*, in Fol. printed by *Nicholas Okes*. 543,–44 (1618, 1619—2 pts.)
13. The trauels of *VVilliam Lythgo* into *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Affrica*, and to *Ierusalem*, in 4. *Ibidem* 15711 (1616)
14. *Swetnams* schoole of defence. 4. printed by *Nich. Okes*. *Ibid* 23543 (1617)
15. The Art of pronounciation: written by *R. Robinson*. *Ibidem* 21122 (1617)

16. *Homers workes in English*, fol. printed for *Nathaniell Butter*. 13624 [1616]
17. The wonderfull history of *Perkin VVarbecke*, 4. *Ibid* 11525 (1618)
18. *Englands way to win wealth*, by *T.G.* 4. *Ibid* 11745 (1614)

22. Controuersie.

1. The way to the true Church, by *John White*, Doctor in Diuinity, printed for *William Barret*, in 4. 25397 (1616)
2. defence of the way to the true Church, against the reply of *A.D.* by the same Author, in 4. *Ibidem* 25390 (1614)
3. The Orthodox Faith, and way to the Church, explained & iustified by *Frances White*, Doctor in Diuinity, in 4. *ibidem* 25380 (1617)
4. A defence of the innocence of the three ceremonies of the Church of England, viz: The Surplice, Crosse after baptism, and
B2 kneeling at the receyuing of the Sacrament, by the Reuerend Father in God, *Thomas L. byshop of Chester*. *Ibid.* 18179 (1618)
5. The Pseudomartyr, by *John Donne* Doctor of Diuinity, printed for *Walter Burre*, 4. 7048 (1610)
6. Brownisme turn'd inside outward, by *Christopher Læwne*, lately returned from that wicked separation, in 4. *Ibidem* 15323 (1613)
7. Worke for a Masse-Priest, printed by *VVilliam Iones*. 5662 (1617)
8. A Treatise of the Church, written against them of the separation, commonly called Brownists, in defence of the Church of England. Written by *John Dayrell*. *Ibidem* 6286 (1617)
9. Ten Counter-demands against them of the separation, written by *Thomas Drake*. *Ibidem* 7186^a [1618]
10. *Enchiridion Christian fidei ex patribus Desumptum cont. Bell. per Fran. Dillinghamum*, in 8. *Ibidem* 6884 (1617)
11. A Probleme propounded by *Fran: Dilling: cont: Bellarm.* *Ibidem* 6887 [1616]

23. Law Bookes.

1. *Ash his Table to Sir Edward Cookes Reports*, printed by the Company of Stationers, in oct. 5526 (1618)
2. The Countrey Iustice, by *Michael Dalton*, in Fol. *Ibidem* 6205 (1618)
3. A Collection of the Statutes by *Ferdinando Poulton*, fol. *Ibidem* 9328 (1618)

24. Bookes of Art and humanity.

1. *Opilogia*, or the vse of *Opium*, by *Tho: Bretnor*, printed by *N. Okes* 21594 (1618)
2. *Markhams Master-peece*, written by *I. Markham*, in 4. printed by *Nicholas Okes*. 17377 (1615)
3. Wounds cured by Gun shot, by *Ambrose Paræ*, translated into English, printed by *William Iaggard*. 19191 (1617)
4. A Geographically description of the whole earth, by *Anthony Stafford*, printed for *Iohn Parker*. 23136^a (1618)
5. The Art of Logicke, plainly taught in the English tongue, according to the best approoued Authors, by *M. Blundeuille*, printed for *Mathew Lownes*. 3143 (1619)
6. *Iunua Linguarum quadritingus*, Latine, English, French, and Spanish, *Londi excudebat R.F. Impensis M. Lownes*. 14467 (1617)

25. Poetry.

1. *Lucans Pharsalia*, by *Arthur Gorges Knight*, Printed for *W. Bur* 16885 (1614)
2. Discourse against flattery, by *William Cauendish Knight*, *Ibid.* ?
3. The Trades encrease. *Ibid* 20579 (1615)
4. The Surueigher, by *Aaron Rathborne*, fol. *ibidem* 20748 (1616)
5. An aduice how to plant Tobacco in England, by *W. R.* 4. *ibid* 23612 (1615) [B2^v]
6. The marriages of the Arts, a Comedy acted by the Students of the Church, written by *Barton Holliday*, Master of Arts, printed for *Iohn Parker*. 13617 (1618)
7. The admirable History of a Magitian, with a discourse of the visible appearance of Spirits and diuels; written in French by *Sebastian Michaelis*, and translated into English by *W.B.* for *William Aspley*. 4. 17854^a? (1613)
8. A Mirrour for Magistrates, or the Fals of vnfortunate English Kings and Princes, since the entering of *Brute* into this Islād, with the life and death of Queen Elizabeth, 4. *ibid* 13447-48 (1619-20 2 iss.)
9. The Naturall and morall History of the East and West Indies, intreating of the remarkable things of heauen, of the Elements, mettals, plants, & beasts proper to that countrey, &c. Written in *Spanish* by *Ioseph Acosta*; and translated into english by *E. G.* printed for *Ed. Blunt*, and *W. Aspley*, 4. 94 (1604)
10. The trauels of foure *Englishmen* and a Preacher, into *Affrica, Asia, Troy, Bythinia, Thracia*, the blacke sea, and other farre Countries, by *William Biddalph*, 4. for *William Aspley*. 3052 (1612)
11. Problemes of Beauty, Loue, and all humane affections; written in Italian by *T.B.* translated into english by *S.T. Gentleman*. London printed for *Edward Blunt*, and *William Aspley*, 12. 4103+ (1606)
12. The Diall of Princes, printed by *Bernard Alsop*. 12430 (1619)

26. Simon Waterson.

1. *Hoptons* Topographicall Glasse. 13783 (1611)
2. *Hoptons* Geodeticall Staffe. 13776 (1610)
3. *Napiers* Logarithmes. 18352 (1618)
4. *Blagraues* Dialling. 3116 (1609)
5. *Oliuers* handling of the plani-sphere. 18810 (1601)

27. Thomas Man.

Geomaticall Translations of Schoole Bookes.

1. *Corderius* Geomatically translated into English, 8. for *T. Man*. 5762+ (?)
2. *Tullies Offices*, first booke, by the same Author, 8. 5288 (1616)
3. *Sententia Purilis*, Englished by the same, 8. 3774 (?)
4. *Purilis Confabulai* Englished, 8. 3773 (1617)
5. *Æsops* Fables Englished Geomatically, 8. 188+ (1617)
6. *Ouids Metamorphosis*, first booke, 4. 18963 (1618)
7. Perusing of the parts, in 4. by *Iohn Berusly*. 3771+ (1618)
8. A Booke of Copies pertaining to the Grammar Schoole. ?

FINIS.

Misprints.—1.2 Forbels for Forbes. 1.4 Brace for Bruce. 2.2 policy for polity. 2.4 Fourme for Fowns or Fownes. 3.1 whol for whole. 10.1 Acray for Airay. 11.5 Elnathar for Elnathan. 11.8 Septenony for Septenarie. 11.9 Witchcrafr for Witchcraft. 13.1 Moone for Moore; Shearshbid for Shearsby. 20.3 Amorum for Annorum; àmundi for à mundi; digesto for digestio. 21.8 Gonard for Leonard. 22.6 Læwne for Lawne. 24.3 Paræ for Paré. 24.4 Anthony for Robert. 24.6 Iunua for Ianua; quadritinguis for quadrilinguis. 25.5 W. R. for C. T. 27.3 sententia for sententiae. 27.4 Confabulai for Confabulationiunculae. 27.7 Perusing for Posing; Berusley for Brinsley. 27.1 and 5 Geomatically for Grammatically. In the headline of section 27 "Geomaticall" for "Grammatical," probably influenced by "Geodetical" in 26.2; Booke I for Bookes.

NOTES

- 1.9—Although this is advertised by T. Man, it was printed for J. Man. It was entered to both. See my note on 27.6.
- 1.12—Printed for Man and Jackson. Jackson does not advertise in the *Catalogue*.
- 2.2—Only part of the book was printed in 1617. The rest was printed later and added to it.
- 3.1—Jaggard 4°: *STC* 8°.
- 3.2—The bracketed dates in the *STC* are probably too early.
- 3.3—Jaggard 12°: *STC* 8°.
- 3.5—Another edition not in *STC*: 4°. T. Haviland for W. Aspley, 1611. Os. From Dr. Pol-lard's notes.
- 4.3—These were published with his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and are not enumerated separately in the *STC*. They have their own signatures, however, and a title-page with the imprint: for H. Fetherstone, 1618.
- 4.4—Also advertised by Butter (8.8), and entered to him and Fetherstone.
- 4.5—Also advertised by Butter (8.7), and entered to him and Fetherstone 22 ap. 1618 (Not in *STC*).
- 5.1—Obviously this should not be classified with Divinity.
- 5.2—At least two editions were printed in 1618. The sixth edition, now lost, must have been printed between 1618 and 1621, inclusive.
- 5.3—The imprint reads "H. L. for J. Crosley," and it was entered to Lownes.
- 5.5—The book is not described in the *STC*: 12°. F. Kingston for J. Budge, 1616. FOLG.
- 5.6—The 51st Psalm is mentioned in the sub-title.
- 5.7—The book is not described in the *STC*: T. Purfoote for R. Woodruffe, 1616. FOLG.
- 5.10—Jaggard 12°: *STC* 24°.
- 5.15—Jaggard 4°: *STC* 8°.
- 5.17—*STC* 13819 is printed for F. Burton.
- 5.18—*STC* 13821 is also printed for Burton (1614). The titles in Jaggard and in the *STC* differ greatly, and, since I have not seen a copy, I am not at all certain of this identification.
- 5.19—Also printed for Burton. There is another edition listed as part of 13819. It is possible that a list of Burton's books may have been mixed in here, since the catalogue is a rather haphazard production.
- 5.20—Also printed for Burton.
- 5.21—This is presumably part of Budge's list, since it was entered to him and Woodroffe. Extant copies have Woodroffe's imprint only, and not Budge's. The edition in question is not described in the *STC*: B. Alsop for R. Woodroffe, 1617. FOLG.

7.3—The imprint reads "F. Kyngston, 1613," and a later edition for Barret may be lost. Under "Doctrine" in the *STC* one is referred to "Sir H. Finch," and under "Finch" one is referred back to "Doctrine." Professor Mark Eccles advised me to look under "Fenner," where two editions are given.

7.4—The imprint reads "T. S. for R. Moore," but there is an entry to Barret 16 fb. 1617, and an edition for him may be lost. Copies of extant editions are very rare.

8.2—Jaggard 4°: *STC* 8°.

8.4—"His" means Byfield's and not "Fenton's" as one might have supposed from its position in the list.

8.5—These are two books, published at different times.

8.7—Also advertised by Fetherstone (4.5). All extant copies have his imprint. SR entry not in *STC*: 22 ap. 1618.

8.8—Also advertised by Fetherstone (4.4). All extant copies have Butter's imprint.

8.10—The edition in question is probably the third, now lost. It came out between the second 1614 and the fourth 1625. The latter, now at FOLG., is not described in the *STC*. The *STC* is mistaken when it says that the title of the second edition is altered. It is not.

8.14—Only two copies are known, one imperfect. A later edition may therefore be lost.

9.1—The edition in question is probably one of those lost between the sixth 1616 and the eleventh 1623. I know of seven editions, all unique, including two not described in the *STC*: the sixteenth at FOLG. and the seventeenth at L.

9.2—The entry for *Learn to Live*, 22 mr. 1616, is an error in the *STC*. It is for *Learn to Die*. Editions of both works are probably lost since copies of both are exceedingly rare.

9.5—An issue with Bourne's imprint from this edition is not described in the *STC*. There is a copy at McA.

9.9—Error in *STC*: delete brackets in the description of *STC* 897; the number of the edition appears on the title-page.

9.10—This may be a lost earlier edition of *STC* 899, of which only a unique copy exists. Catechisms are always rare.

10.2—SR entry not in *STC*: 8 ap. 1618, to Bladen.

11.1—The earliest edition in the *STC* is dated 1620, and treats chapters 8–12. Ours is probably preserved at McA. and FOLG. I have not yet examined the copies, but the McAlpin catalogue says that theirs treats only chapters 8–11, as in Jaggard. It has no title-page. The Folger copy is dated 1618, but I know nothing else about it.

11.4—SR entry not in *STC*: 27 ja. 1613, to S. Man. No copies found.

11.7—The earliest extant edition is dated 1621, but it was entered 18 jy. 1614, and, since copies are rare, an earlier edition is presumably lost.

12.1—The edition in question is not described in the *STC*: Fourth edition. F. Kyngston and E. Weaver, 1618. FOLG.

12.5—The imprint has Kingston's name only, although it was entered to him and Weaver.

13—All the books advertised by Bloome are entered to and printed for Mab and Edwards.

13.1—Entered to and printed for Edwards.

13.2—The edition in question is not described in the *STC*: Third edition. 4°. E. Griffin for I. Bloome, 1618. L.; BO. FOLG. Entered to Mab.

13.3—Entered to and printed for Mab.

13.4—Printed for Mab in 1615, assigned by him to Edwards 1616, and printed for Edwards 1617 and 1618. The latter edition is not described in the *STC*: Third edition. 12°. for G. Edwards, 1618. FOLG.

13.5 & 6—Entered to Budge and Mab. Printed for Mab.

14.2—The earliest English edition now extant is the twenty-ninth, 1638. The copy is unique.

14.4—Entered to and printed for Milbourne.

15.1—The edition in question is not described in the *STC*: Folger has a copy dated 1618; I know nothing else about it. The title of the book in Jaggard differs from that in the *STC*. But they are the same book: see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, VII, 272.

- 15.3—The book in question is not described in the *STC*: *The Promises, or a Treatise, etc.*, G. P. for R. Rounthwaite, 1619. HN. FOLG. Entered 6 au. 1618.
- 17.1—This is the second edition, although it does not say so on the title-page.
- 17.2—The title does not agree exactly: *The Happiness of the Church...Being the Summe of Diverse Sermons Preached in S. Gregories London*. I identified it by the date. This is the only book by Adams late enough to have been preached at St. Gregory's, and still printed for Grismond early enough to be advertised with Jaggard.
- 18.5—Not found. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* (XXV, 117), it was "said to have been printed several times in 16mo." The *DNB* gives no copy.
- 19.1—The edition in question may be the third, not described in the *STC*: N. Okes, 1616. FOLG. Or it may be the lost fourth edition, which must have come out between the third, 1616, and the fifth, 1620.
- 19.5—SR entry not in *STC*: 3 jn. 1616.
- 20.4—SR entry not in *STC*: 4 ap. 1617.
- 20.5—The title in Jaggard and that in the *STC* do not agree exactly, but the date and publisher make the identification probable.
- 21.5—The *STC* does not describe Alexander's *Additions* separately, nor does it give the SR entry: 31 au. 1616.
- 21.6—The issue in question is not described by the *STC*: fol. W. Jaggard, 1618. WASH. Except for the title-page it is just like *STC* 6062 (1615).
- 21.7—This is the second volume of *STC* 17936. See the printed title-page. The engraved title-page calls it *Times Store-house*.
- 22.9—Error in *STC*: for "The" read "Ten." The extant edition, a mere leaflet of eight pages, has no formal title-page. The title appears only at the head of the first page. It has, therefore, no imprint, but it is almost certainly the edition in question.
- 22.11—Error in SR: for "Pillingham" read "Dillingham."
- 23.3—The SR entry of 16 de. 1616 may be this book.
- 24.5—Error in *STC*: for "R. Lownes" read "M. Lownes." This book was entered to Stansby, and printed by him for Lownes.
- 25.1—This is also listed as 21.10. Issues exist for both Burre and Blount.
- 25.5—According to the SR and the *STC*, this is by "C. T." Jaggard says "W. R." But the title and imprint make the identification very probable.
- 25.7—Like many other books in this list of "poetry," this is actually in prose. Jaggard's title for it does not agree with that in the *STC*, but his agrees with the running-titles, while theirs agrees with the title-page.
- 25.9—Copies are very common, and therefore they presumably sold slowly; hence they remained in stock from 1604 to 1618. Considering the abundance of copies, the loss of an edition is very improbable.
- 25.11—The HN copy has the date 1606.
- 26.3—This was entered to Okes, who printed Waterson's name on part of his edition.
- 27.1 & 3—Copies of both are exceedingly rare, and editions are almost certainly lost.
- 27.5—The edition in question is not described in the *STC*: 8°. H. L. for T. Man, 1617. HN.
- 27.6—SR entry not in *STC*: 23 fb. 1618, to J. Man not T. Man.
- 27.7—The edition in question is not described in the *STC*, but a copy of it was sold at Sotheby's, 19 mr. 1928: H. L. for T. Man, 1618. From Dr. Pollard's notes.

MILTON'S SCALE OF NATURE

WALTER CLYDE CURRY

Vanderbilt University

I

In Milton's *Paradise Lost* Raphael explains to Adam that angels of all ranks require food for the sustenance of their bodies. For, says he, these pure intelligential substances, like the rational man, have within them every lower faculty of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste, and tasting concoct, digest, and assimilate. As pure Spirits they are capable of transubstantiating easily the gross corporeal viands of earth into an ethereal substance—called incorporeal because of its purity—which sustains their subtle and highly sublimated material bodies. Adam is impressed by the radiant form of his visitor and, somewhat embarrassed, asks for further information. Whereupon, the archangel proceeds to discourse upon the metaphysical relationship between men and angels, between all created things and God:

O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not depraved from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all,
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life;
But more refined, more spiritous and pure,
As nearer to him placed or nearer tending,
Each in their several active spheres assigned,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportioned to each kind. So from the root
Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
More aery, last the bright consummate flower
Spirits odorous breathes! flowers and their fruit,
Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed,
To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
To intellectual; give both life and sense,
Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
Reason receives, and reason is her being,
Discursive, or intuitive: discourse
Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,
Differing but in degree, of kind the same

Time may come when men
 With angels may participate, and find
 No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare;
 And from these corporeal nutriments, perhaps,
 Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
 Improved by tract of time, and winged ascend
 Ethereal as we (*PL.*, V, 469-499).

And this series of relationships, set from center to circumference, Adam calls "the scale of Nature."

Now, the surprising concept in this passage is not that the angels have bodies. Though the majority opinion of the Renaissance holds that spirits and daemons are pure intellectual substances unattached to vitalized forms,¹ still Milton is supported in his view by an honorable tradition involving the pronouncements of ancient Jews and the Pythagoreans as reported by Hierocles, of Plato, Apuleius, Plotinus, Psellus, St. Augustine and other Church Fathers, and of such contemporaries as Henry More and Ralph Cudworth.² Angels and daemons with fiery or aery or luciform or ethereal bodies are commonplace. What is surprising and significant is Milton's conception that the bodies of angels and the bodies of men and all other created things are formed out of the *same*, originally homogeneous matter, and that the composition of matter and material form is found not only in the material world but also in all spiritual substances. Also commonplace is the idea of a hierarchy of forces or powers or categories extending from God to Nature and through all the manifestations of Nature. Platonists and scholastics had emphasized the position of the human spirit in this scale of Nature, and had shown how the spirit might climb the ladder to God—usually at the expense of the body. Somewhat startling, however, is the Miltonic doctrine that the moral disposition of the human spirit determines the corresponding purity or grossness of its material body, and that by means of moral virtue and obedience to God's laws the body of man may at last turn all to spirit or may be sublimated to the point of becoming ethereal like the bodies of angels. These distin-

¹ See Robert Hunter West, *The Invisible World* (University of Georgia Press, 1939), pp. 2, 27, 212, etc.; Ralph Cudworth, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (Andover, 1838), II, 256 ff.

² I have belaboured this question in *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* (Baton Rouge, 1937), pp. 175 ff. Cf. K. Svoboda, *La Demonologie de Michel Psellos* (Brno, 1927), pp. 24-25; Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part I, Sect. ii, Mem. i, Subs. ii; Cudworth, *op. cit.*, II, 246-261; *Hieroclis Philosophi Commentarius in Aurea Pythagoreorum Carmina*, Joan. Curterio Interprete (London, 1673), p. 43; *Philosophical Writings of Henry More*, ed. Flora Isabel Mackinnon (New York, 1925), pp. 305-306; Marjorie H. Nicolson, "The Spirit World of Milton and More," *Studies in Philology*, XXII (1925), 433 ff.

guishing concepts of the composition of matter and form in spiritual as well as material substances, the creation of all things out of one homogeneous matter, and the ability of the human spirit to form a suitable body precisely adapted to its degree of purity are characteristic of Milton, but they are not entirely original with him. It is therefore the purpose of this study to develop, without special emphasis upon immediate sources, the philosophical traditions upon which in the presentation of these doctrines he depends and so to furnish the basis for, possibly, a better understanding of Raphael's metaphysical discourse.

But first it seems advisable to determine the precise significance of certain terms which the poet here employs. When he asserts that angels assimilate food of an earthly nature and so "corporeal into incorporeal turn" (V, 413), he does not mean that gross matter is transformed into an entirely immaterial substance or into one having no bodily or material structure. In this instance "incorporeal" has reference to a sublimed, tenuous, subtile matter like that which composes the bodies of angels. As Origen says:

The term *incorporeal* is disused and unknown, not only in many other writings, but also in our own Scriptures...but...it must be understood to mean that He [Christ] had not such a body as demons have, which is naturally fine (subtile) and thin as if formed of air (and for that reason is either considered or called by many incorporeal), but that He had a solid and palpable body. Now according to human custom, everything which is not of that nature is called by the simple or ignorant incorporeal.³

Johannes Thessalonicensis agrees:

If you find angels, or demons, or separate souls, called sometimes incorporeal, you must understand this in respect of the tenuity of their bodies only; as not consisting of the grosser elements, nor being so solid . . . as those which we are now imprisoned in.⁴

And Psellus generalizes as follows:

It is usual both with Christian writers, and Pagans too, to call the grosser bodies corporeal, and those, which by reason of their subtilty avoid both our sight and touch, incorporeal.⁵

That Milton had some such concept in mind is indicated by the fact that,

³ Origen, Preface to *De Principiis*, trans. Rev. Frederick Crombie, The Ante-Nicene Fathers, IV, 241.

⁴ Quoted from Cudworth, *op. cit.*, II, 257. This doctrine was approved by the seventh Oecumenical, or second Nicene council.

⁵ Quoted, *ibid.*

when the hungry Raphael—not seemingly the angel, nor in mist (the common gloss of theologians)—transubstantiates corporeal food into incorporeal, this easy process is compared to that of the alchemist who transmutes drossiest ore into perfect gold (V, 433–442).

This “incorporeal” body of the angel, moreover, is composed of ether. Milton asserts that (1) angels are spirits, and (2) that they are of ethereal nature.⁶ And Raphael holds out to Adam the hope that some day the human body may turn all to spirit and “winged ascend ethereal,” as the angels. Here it is necessary to understand that Milton is not following that tradition which conceives of ether as a fifth essence differing in kind from all the four elements. He holds rather to the historical theory that ether is a matter sublimated from the four elements, or merely a purer form of air and fire.⁷ Both the visible and invisible heavens, therefore, the bodies of planets, stars, and angels, are composed of a thin, attenuated, purified form of that same matter which metaphysically underlies all other created things. Thus a material continuity is established between the invisible and visible worlds, where one first matter is more or less refined, spirituous, and pure in proportion as it exists nearer to God or farther away from him (470–479). When therefore Raphael says that Adam’s body may “at last turn all to spirit,” no one must suppose that “spirit” is here to be taken in the sense of an immaterial being or intelligence conceived as distinct from anything physical or material.⁸ He simply means that Adam’s body may, before the fall, be refined and purified into an ethereal body like that of a Spirit or angel.

Milton’s conception of one first matter, derived from God and en-

⁶ *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. I, cap. vii, trans. Charles R. Sumner, in *The Works of John Milton* (New York, 1933), XV, 35. Here, it will be observed, he maintains the dichotomy which obtains in all created things, matter and form, and in things that live, body and spirit, where “spirit” means immaterial intelligential substance. I avoid using the term *soul* here because Milton employs it to designate the whole man, into whose body God has infused some divine virtue fitted for the exercise of life and reason. *De Doctrina*, pp. 41–43.

⁷

. . . of elements

The grosser feeds the purer: earth the sea;
Earth and the sea feed air; the air those fires
Ethereal, and, as lowest, first the moon . . .
Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale
From her moist continent to higher Orbs.
The sun, that light imparts to all receives,
From all his alimential recompense
In humid exhalations (V, 415–425).

⁸ In the *De Doctrina*, pp. 41, 43, Milton admits a distinction between body, considered as a “mere senseless stock,” and the spirit considered as an immaterial substance. “But,” says he, “that the spirit of man should be separate from the body, so as to have a perfect and intelligent existence independently of it, is nowhere said in Scripture, and the doctrine is evidently at variance with nature and reason.”

dued with various forms, various degrees of substance and of life,⁹ may be found to have distinguished theological and philosophical support. Long before him Origen, in his discussion of the human spirit's condition after death,¹⁰ had maintained the thesis that all rational and spiritual natures—with the exception of the Trinity alone—must always be united to bodies. Says he:

The necessity of logical reasoning compels us to understand that rational natures were indeed created at the beginning, but that material substances were separated from them only in thought and understanding, and appears to have been formed for them, or after them, and that they never have lived nor do live without it.¹¹

And in explanation of the apparent diversity found in the bodies of angels, stars, and of men in various states, he is forced to postulate a universal matter or bodily nature which "admits of diversity and variety of change, so that it is capable of undergoing all possible transformations," possessing such "properties as to enable it to be sufficient for all the bodies in the world which God willed to exist."¹² He concludes:

As we have remarked above, therefore, that material substance of this world, possessing a nature admitting of all possible transformations, is, when dragged down to beings of a lower order, moulded into the crasser and more solid condition of a body, so as to distinguish those visible and varying forms of the world; but when it becomes the servant of more perfect and more blessed beings, it shines in the splendour of celestial bodies, and adorns either the angels of God or the sons of the resurrection with the clothing of a spiritual body, out of all of which will be filled up the diverse and varying state of the one world.¹³

Here one may observe a hierarchy of spiritual and rational natures

⁹ Cf. *L2 Doctrina*, p. 23: "For the original matter of which we speak, is not to be looked upon as an evil or trivial thing, but as intrinsically good, and the chief productive stock of every subsequent good. It was a substance, and derivable from no other source than from the fountain of every substance, though at first confused and formless, being afterwards adorned and digested into order by the hand of God." One must understand that this prime matter is ontologically prior to—not chronologically earlier than—that less remote material out of which God created the universe. He created, not out of matter alone, but out of matter adorned and endued with various forms; matter *per se* is only the seminary of every subsequent good. As Milton says (*A Fuller Institution of the Art of Logic*, ed. and trans. Allan H. Gilbert, in *The Works of John Milton* [New York, 1935], XI, 51), "Matter is the cause *from which* a thing is"; but (p. 59) "Form is the cause *through which* a thing is what it is."

¹⁰ I have discussed Origen's opinion in this matter in "Arcite's Intellect," *JEGPh.*, XXIX (1930), 92.

¹¹ *De Principiis*, II, i (*loc. cit.*, IV, 269).

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, ii, 2 (IV, 270). Professor Grant McColley has already adduced some of these passages from Origen in his admirable defense of Milton's orthodoxy, "Paradise Lost," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXXII (1939), 221.

clothed at the beginning with a variety of material bodies formed from a single bodily nature, from one matter precisely adapted to the degree of life with which it is endued. It is the Creator who adorns the angels and the sons of the resurrection with the clothing of a spiritual body; He purifies matter so that it shines in the splendour of the celestial bodies, and He drags it down to form the crass bodies of beings of a lower order, such as men. But here is only slight suggestion of the ability lodged in a vital human spirit to transform its gross body into a spiritual or ethereal body like that of angels.

A more systematic account of a homogeneous matter which supports all created things may be found in the *Fons Vitae* of Avencebrol.¹⁴ This Jewish philosopher, combining certain elements of Aristotelian and Neo-platonic speculation, conceives of the created universe as the product of a constantly deteriorating emanation. First, there subsists an absolutely unified, simple, and unknowable God (III, 11-12). From Him as Creator comes the World Spirit, an Intelligence which is composed of universal matter (*materia universalis*) and universal form (*forma universalis*),¹⁵ the compound being effected by the will of God.¹⁶ From this Intelligence proceeds a gradually weakening or degenerating succession of inferior intelligences (also composed of matter and form), which transmit the hylomorphic principle of substantial composition into the material world. Thus a hierarchy of forms successively differentiate *materia universalis* into a graduated and infinite variety of spiritual and corporal beings. Or to state the case differently, any individual thing will represent a plurality of forms rooted in the *forma universalis* and a multiplicity of matters differentiated from a numerically one *materia universalis*.¹⁷ Concerning these two universal principles Avencebrol says that a definition is impossible, but he may attempt a description:

¹⁴ This is Solomon ibn Gebirol, variously called Avicebron, or Avencebrol, or Avicembrol, the first important Jewish philosopher in Spain, who wrote at Saragossa in the eleventh century. His *Fons Vitae* was widely discussed by the scholastic philosophers of the thirteenth century. I use Avencebrol's *Fons Vitae* ex Arabico in Latinum translatus ab Iohanne Hispano et Dominico Gvndissalino, ed. Clemens Baeumker, Monasterii, 1895.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, V, 1, pp. 258 ff. Cf. C. R. Harris, *Duns Scotus* (Oxford, 1927), I, 230-233; Maurice De Wulf, *History of Mediaeval Philosophy*, trans. E. C. Messenger (New York, 1926), I, 228 ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 37, p. 326: Describere voluntatem impossibile est; sed paene describitur, cum dicitur quod est uirtus diuina, faciens materiam et formam et lignans illas, et diffusa a summo usque ad imum, sicut diffusio animae in corpore; et ipsa est movens omnia et disponens omnia.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, 10, pp. 231-2: et cum consideraueris omnes substantias, inuenies proprietates primae materiae et eius impressiones in eis; scilicet quod corpus est substantia sustinens formas multas diuersas, et praecipue natura et animae sensibiles, quia hae sunt imprimentes formas in corpore, et praecipue anima rationalis et intelligentia, quia omnes formae sunt in eis.

ergo descriptio materiae primae, quae sumpta est ex eius proprietate, haec est, scilicet quod est substantia existens per se, substintatrix diversitatis, una numero; et iterum describitur sic, quod est substantia receptibilis omnium formarum. sed descriptio formae universalis haec est, scilicet quod est substantia constituens essentiam omnium formarum, et iterum describitur sic, quod ipsa est sapientia perfecta, lumen purissimum.¹⁸

And the various matters of creation—all degrees of which are ultimately reducible to one matter (IV, 15)—are more pure and subtle in proportion as they are differentiated by the light of forms when it is close to its original source, and they become more gross, dense, and turbulent as the light extends farther away from God.¹⁹ It is therefore clear that the matter of intelligences—identified by later Christian writers with angels—is merely a nobler, more simple and sublime species of that same *materia universalis* which is differentiated into the bodies of men. As Thomas Aquinas says:

Some assert that the angels are composed of matter and form; which opinion Avicbron endeavoured to establish in his book of the *Fount of Life*. For he supposes that whatever things are distinguished by the intellect are really distinct. Now as regards incorporeal substance, the intellect apprehends that which distinguishes it from corporeal substances, and that which it has in common with it. Hence he concludes that what distinguishes incorporeal from corporeal substance is a kind of form to it, and whatever is subject to this distinguishing form, as it were something common, is its matter. Therefore, he asserts, the universal matter of spiritual and corporeal things is the same; so that it must be understood that the form of incorporeal substance is impressed in the matter of spiritual things, in the same way as the form of quantity is impressed in the matter of corporeal things.²⁰

That Milton is acquainted with this concept of a multiplicity of matters differentiated from one prime or universal matter by a plurality of generic and individual forms cannot be doubted. In the *Logic* he speaks of "*A thing*: that is the thing which the matter makes evident, to wit, the effect produced by the matter, since *we know that matter is common to all entities and nonentities, not peculiar to sensible and corporeal things*. But of whatever sort these things are, such the matter of them ought to

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, V, 22, p. 298.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 14, p. 243: Et propter hoc accidit quod una substantia est sapientior alia et perfectior, scilicet propter spissitudinem materiae et turbationem, non propter formam in se ipsa, quia scientia et cognitio ex forma est, non ex materia, quia forma est lumen purum, et materia e contrario, et quo fuerit materia subtilior et superior propter diffusionem luminis in illa, fiet ipsa substantia prudentior et perfectior, sicut intelligentia et anima; et e contrario (et) materia, quo magis descenderit, non fit spissa nisi propter elongationem luminis quod est infusum in illa et propter multiplicatam eius.

²⁰ *Summa Theologica*, I, 50. 2c. Trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province. St. Thomas, who believes with Aristotle in abstract, separable spiritual substances, of course disagrees violently with Avencebrol.

be; the sensible should be composed of sensible things, the eternal of eternal things, and so on in the rest" (pp. 51, 53). And again (*ibid.*, p. 59) he says: "Because if whatever things differ in number differ also in essence, but not in matter, necessarily they differ among themselves in forms, but not in common forms, therefore in proper ones. Thus the rational soul is the form of man generically; the soul of Socrates is the proper form of Socrates." One might safely conclude, it seems to me, that it is Avencebrol's conception of a plurality of forms and matters rooted in a *materia universalis*—initiated by the distinguished Jew—which constitutes the ultimate source of the Miltonic postulation of

one first matter all,
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life;
But more refined, more spiritous and pure,
As nearer to him placed or nearer tending.

But the channels through which these distinctive ideas were transmitted from Avencebrol to Milton are not clearly defined.

Still it is instructive to observe that in the Middle Ages Avencebrol exerted a stimulating influence and that certain aspects of his system were popular, particularly among philosophers of the Franciscan school. Among the older scholastics Alexander of Hales, for example, supports the hylomorphic theory of substantial composition in all contingent beings, spiritual as well as material. But his three matters—spiritual, celestial corporeal, and terrestrial corporeal—are not differentiated from one common matter and are therefore different in kind.²¹ For St. Bonaventura, likewise, all things are composed of matter and form, and he seems to recognize the existence of a homogeneous matter underlying all material bodies and spiritual beings.²² But it is Duns Scotus who openly avows his dependence upon the principles of Avencebrol. Following the Jewish philosopher he postulates three species or varieties of matter: *materia primo prima*, *materia secundo prima*, and *materia tertio prima*. C. R. S. Harris has defined these concepts admirably:

²¹ See C. R. S. Harris, *op. cit.*, I, 154; Maurice de Wulf, *op. cit.*, I, 346–347.

²² See De Wulf, *op. cit.*, I, 365; Harris, *op. cit.*, I, 164. Neither Alexander nor St. Bonaventura acknowledges dependence upon Avencebrol. As Professor McColley shows (*op. cit.*, p. 221), St. Bonaventura bases his conception of a universal and perhaps homogeneous matter in all things upon a passage from the pseudo-Augustinian *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*: "Aeternus ergo et omnipotens Creator rerum... ex informi materia, quam ipse prius ex nihilo condidit, cunctarum visibilium et invisibilium rerum, hoc est, sensibilium et insensibilium, intellectualium et intellectu carentium, species multiformes divisit" (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, 35, 2151).

Materia primo prima is the common substrate of all created beings. It is that which is absolutely indeterminate with regard to all forms whatsoever, and its actuality is infinitesimal; it is only just removed from nothing, possessing in its essence neither substantial nor accidental form which determines it to be anything in particular, its only reality being that which it receives immediately from God as the product of his creative act. It possesses less entity than any other creature, and is therefore ontologically prior to all its determinations.

Materia secundo prima is that which is the substratum of generation and corruption coming to being and passing away. It is that which is transformed by created agents, i.e. the forces of nature. It differs from *materia primo prima* in that it is already informed with some substantial form by virtue of which it is quantitatively determined, and therefore susceptible of physical changes like growth and decay, etc.

Materia tertio prima is the matter of every particular natural agent, as, for instance, the seed of the oak . . . It includes also the material of the arts.²³

As indicated Duns would insist not only upon the existence of matter in all created substances, material and spiritual, but also upon the unity and homogeneity of this matter. Since the universe is a unity, everything that exists must be rooted in *materia primo prima*. As Harris concludes:

Finally, where we find objects specifically or numerically determined arising out of the indeterminate we say that they partake of a common matter. Thus, for example, we make the assumption concerning the four elements, which we regard as the differentiation of one prime matter . . . We conclude that all things arise out of the differentiation of one common indeterminate matter, which is differentiated by the various generic and specific forms into the various creatures, angels, heavenly bodies, terrestrial bodies, and so forth.²⁴

And most significant for us here, Duns likens the created universe to a wonderful tree:

Ex his apparet, quod mundus est arbor quaedam pulcherrima, cujus radix et seminarium est materia prima, folia fluentia sunt accidentia; frondes et rami sunt creata corruptibilia; flos, rationalis anima; fructus naturae consimiles et perfectionis, natura Angelica . . . Dividitur radix ista immediate in duos ramos, in corporalem et spiritualementem; spiritualis ramus in tres hierarchias, et quaelibet illarum in tres ordines, et ordo quaelibet in millia millium Angelorum . . . Corporalis creatura duos ramos continet, scilicet corpora corruptibilia et incorruptibilia, et illa dividuntur multipliciter.²⁵

Now it may be apparent that in some way Milton is acquainted with certain elements of Duns's system and perhaps with his metaphorical expression. For example, the poet too recognizes three states or varieties or divisions of matter. In the *Logic* (p. 53) he observes: "Matter

²³ Harris, *op. cit.*, II, 81-82.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 84.

²⁵ *De Rerum Principio*, q. viii, art. 4, n. 30; quoted from Harris, *op. cit.*, II, 84, Note 2.

is commonly divided into primary and secondary; the secondary into proximate and remote." These distinctions are especially useful in Physics and he, as logician, is interested in only proximate matter, such as that which constitutes the matters of the arts. But it is clear that his primary matter—his one first matter from which all things are created—corresponds precisely in all respects to Duns's *materia primo prima* and is, like the latter, ontologically prior to all its differentiations. His remote matter—a division of secondary matter—corresponds to Duns's *materia secundo prima*. And this "remote" matter is the substance of chaos in *Paradise Lost*, which, like the *materia secundo prima*, is the substrate of generation and corruption; in chaos prime matter is already differentiated into the four elements and has acquired quantity and extension. Moreover, in the symbol of the tree Milton seems to be suggesting certain metaphysical relationships identical with those which Duns presents through the same image. The poet has just informed us that all things are created from one first matter endued with a variety of forms and that a more refined species of this matter is to be found clothing those spiritual forms placed nearer to God. He continues:

So from the root
Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
More aery, last the bright consummate flower
Spirits odorous breathes—flowers and their fruit.

The artist, of course, merely suggests rather than states the details of a parallelism obtaining between the tree and a unified world created out of one prime matter; he is mainly interested in the higher manifestations of bodily and spiritual development. But it is evident in the comparison that the root of the tree is prime matter, the green stalk and the leaves constitute the corruptible creation (including perhaps the vital and animal spirits of living creatures), the flower is the intellectual or rational soul of man, and the fruit is the rational-intuitive soul of angels.²⁶

Thus far Milton and Duns, like Origen, have given a clear exposition of a hierarchy of forms combined with a graduated series of matters differentiated from one matter. Here is presented the concept of, shall

²⁶ Duns's symbol of the tree offers a closer parallel to Milton's, it seems to me, than that adduced by Denis Saurat (*Milton, Man and Thinker* [New York, 1925], pp. 305-306) from Robert Fludd. A reading of Fludd shows that his image of the tree is used merely to illustrate the physics of the cosmos, where the four elements are sublimated to the greatest degree of "spiritual" purity in the Sun in contrast with the grossness of the Earth. See Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmi Maioris scilicet Minoris Metaphysica, Physica, atque Technica Historia* (Oppenheimii, 1617), p. 137, where the passage occurs in the discussion *De Solis ortu & origine*, etc.

we say, a static and complete universe as God originally created it, comprising all creatures of high or low estate, "each to their several spheres assigned in bounds proportioned to each kind." But now Milton proceeds to introduce the new doctrine—alien to Duns and Avencebrol—of a dynamic force or power which is able to overleap the bounds proportioned to its kind and attain a sphere to which it was not originally assigned. The flowers—and their fruit—of the metaphorical tree suggest a reintroduction of the main proposition concerning the nourishment which is necessary for the support of human and angelic bodies. He observes that man is able by vital processes to sublimate the fruit of trees to sensitive and animal spirits, thence to intellectual, whence the soul receives discursive reason. And since angels differ from man in degree of perfection only and not in kind, they too are able to receive gross nutriment and convert it to their proper substance. These considerations lead to the conclusion that in time the purified spirits of men may achieve the conversion of their crass bodies into an ethereal substance like that which is formed into the bodies of angels. This dynamism, involving both physical and spiritual development, reaches Milton through channels other than those which we have discussed.

II

Two schools of Neo-platonic thinkers elaborate the thesis that the human spirit is of such a nature that it is capable of determining the state of its body. Both agree that the soul of man is a rational or spiritual substance which pre-existed before its lapse into an earthly body, and that at its first creation it was provided with an ethereal, celestial integument called the luminous or luciform body. One school holds that this chariot or vehicle of the soul adheres to it always and that it descends with the soul into the earthly body, where it serves as a unifying and vitalizing principle between the two. Hierocles, for example, attributes this concept to the Pythagoreans. Says he,

Natura ratione praedita, quae corpus habet sibi congenitum, ita ab opifice edita fuit, ut neque ipsa corpus existeret, neque tamen careret corpore; sed esset quidem incorporea, in corpus autem species ejus tota definirer . . . & est heros quilibet animus rationis particeps corpori lucido conjunctus; & homo similiter animus etiam ratione praeditus cum congenito corpore immortalis. Atque hoc quidem est Pythagoreorum dogma; quod Plato proculdubio promulgavit postea, cum divinum omnem atque humanum animum, congenitae virtuti alati currus atque aurigae comparavit.²⁷ . . . Vita enim corpus est quod materia destituitur,

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

quodque vitam materiae inhaerentem generat, per quam mortale nostrum perficitur, quod ex vita rationis experte materialique corpore componitur.²⁸

But when the incorporeal soul falls through folly into a terrestrial body, the luciform vesture which clothes it is dimmed and its splendour (as a light in a dark lantern) is weakened and obscured by the gross weight and passions of the earthly body. Hierocles therefore recommends (1) the purgation of man's rational soul by means of mathematical sciences and dialectics, and (2) the purification of the luminous body through contemplation, proper diet, and the practice of magical or ceremonial arts. Thus purged and purified the rational soul and its lucid body may slough off entirely the gross earthly body and, winged, may attain their pristine splendour in the pure ether.²⁹ Thus in one branch of Neo-platonic philosophy, stemming avowedly from the ancient Pythagoreans, we discover among other considerations one significant core of thought: namely, the celestial body of the rational soul may lose its brightness and fall through the soul's folly and may regain its original glory through the practice of virtue. But the respective substances of the earthly body and of the luciform body are different in kind, and there is no possibility that one may be transubstantiated into the other.

Another school of Neo-platonists, however, are of the opinion that the human soul, according to its moral state, always finds or creates for itself a cognate body correspondingly refined or gross. Thus when the soul descends into the material world, its celestial body is lost and it acquires an earthy body; but the celestial body may be regained through the exercise of virtue. As Porphyry says:

However the soul be in itself affected, so does it always find a body suitable and agreeable to its present disposition; and therefore to the purged souls does naturally accrue a body, that comes next to immateriality; that is, an ethereal one.³⁰

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 292. Cudworth (*op. cit.*, II, 218-228) supports this concept of the nature and function of the luciform body by quotations from Philoponus, Proclus, Psellus, Suidas, and others. Cf. *Hermetica*, ed. Walter Scot (Oxford, 1925), II, 263-265, where Scot traces the idea back through Iamblichus who "knew of certain Platonists who held that the soul, when not incorporated in an earthy body, is at all times incorporated in a material body of finer substance,"—a concept adopted by Origen—to Heraclides. Henry Cornelius Agrippa (*Three Books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. by F. F. [London, 1651], Bk. III, ch. xxxvii, p. 465) seems to be in the same tradition when he says: "The soul of man is a certain divine light, created after the image of the word... Therefore man's soul being such, according to the opinion of the *Platonists*, immediately proceeding from God, is joined by competent means to this grosser body; whence first of all in its descent, it is involved in a Celestiall... body, which they call the celestiall vehicle of the soul, others the chariot of the soul: Through this middle thing... it is first infused into the middle part of the heart... and from thence it is diffused through all the parts and members of his body, when it joyneth his chariot to the natural heat."

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-312, *passim*.

³⁰ Quoted from Cudworth, *op. cit.*, II, 229.

It is not here stated, we must observe, that the various bodies which the soul creates for itself in its fall and rise are formed from the same matter, more or less pure. But the dynamic power of the soul to determine any present state of its body is firmly established. Now it is not clear when this concept of a spiritual dynamism was first combined with that of a universal prime matter, out of which all material and spiritual things are created. Already Cornelius Agrippa, at any rate, seems to imply such a combination when he describes mystically how the "first light" of reason passes from God into man's soul, hence through the vivifying celestial body into the elemental body, where the light is made manifestly visible to the eye. He continues:

The *Chaldean* philosophers, considering this progress of light, declare a certain wonderfull power of our minds: *viz* that it may come to passe, that our mind being firmly fixed on God, may be filled with the divine power; and being so replenished with light, its beams being diffused through all the *media*, even to this grosse, dark, heavy, mortall body, it may endow it with abundance of light, and make it like the Stars, and equally shining, and also by the plenty of its beams and lightness lift it on high, as straw lifted up by the flame of fire, and can presently carry the body as a spirit into remote parts.³¹

And certainly by Milton's time the most distinguished philosophers were familiar with the idea of one universal, homogeneous matter and a dynamic human soul capable of forming it into a body of corresponding grossness or purity. Dr. Henry More, for example, finds that so far as either our Sense or Reason can reach, there is the *same Matter* everywhere . . . For *Matter* being of one simple homogeneal nature, and not distinguishable by specificall differences, as the Schools speak, it must have every where the very same Essentiall properties.³²

And the human soul, by virtue of its ability to move and establish a "vital congruity" with this universal matter, may fashion for itself in successive states of existence a terrestrial, an aerial, and a celestial body.³³ Ralph Cudworth, identifying the spiritual body of the risen Christ as a purified form of the same numerical body which was laid in the sepulchre, generalizes:

According to the best philosophy, which acknowledges no essential or specific differences of matter, the foulest and grossest body that is, merely by

³¹ *Op. cit.*, Bk. III, ch. xliii, p. 492. This elevation of the gross material body into higher realms is made possible because, as Agrippa says (Bk. I, ch. viii, p. 22), the four elements are found in all created things: "That Elements therefore are to be found everywhere, and in all things after their manner, no man can deny. First in these inferior bodies feculent, and gross, and in Celestials more pure and clear; but in supercelestials living, and in all respects blessed."

³² *The Immortality of the Soul*, Bk. I, ch. xi, in *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

³³ *Ibid.*, II, xv, pp. 153-155.

motion [of the spirit] may not only be crystalized, but also brought into the purity and tenuity of the finest ether.³⁴

And Dean George Rust presents the opinions of Origen together with some rather startling Neo-platonic interpretations.³⁵

Rust agrees with Origen that the Trinity alone is truly incorporeal and that all created essences are provided with bodies formed out of one universal matter.³⁶ He postulates a "long chain of life and Being," consisting of a hierarchy of spiritual substances incorporated in bodies of appropriate purity and extending from incorporeal Deity to matter itself. These graduated orders of spiritual essences—the souls of men constitute one order—were at first creation "joyned to the purest matter, and placed in the best Regions of the world that the highest life and purity of Essence they then had made them then fit for."³⁷ Thus we meet again the concept of a static universe as God originally created it, consisting of various orders of incorporate spirits assigned to their respective spheres in bounds proportioned to each kind. "But," says Rust, proceeding to develop the concept of a dynamism lodged in spiritual substances,

But since few Spirits after the *First* and *Best* are of immutable purity, and since every different degree of their changeable purity is proportion'd to a correspondent degree of purity of matter, and since matter is actually existent in the world according to all degrees of purity, 'tis not to be wondered at neither that the same individual Spirit or some order of Spirits should sometimes be united with one sort of matter sometimes with another.³⁸

In this manner he would establish a basis for the observation that the pre-existent soul of man may through folly descend the chain of life until it is plunged into a gross terrestrial body, and that it may through virtuous living ascend the scale until even the grossest vesture of decay may be transmuted into a "spiritual" body, *not only at the resurrection but here in this life*. For, says he,

to every remarkable difference of purity in the Essence of created Spirits there is a difference in the matter exactly answering and fitted thereto, and by how much more pure they are, by so much more durable is their life, as approaching nearer to and more fully partaking of the first and purest fountain of life.³⁹

For example, the soul of Christ was possessed of such sovereign

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 237.

³⁵ George Rust, *A Letter of Resolution concerning Origen and the Chief of His Opinions*, 1661, ed. Marjorie Hope Nicolson, for The Facsimile Text Society, New York, 1933.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 8, etc.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

energy and life that it "could as well fix and constipate the matter of his body into a terrestrial crassness, as loosen it into a spiritual tenuity." This was possible because of the fact that "there is no other difference in matter than what it receives from such or such modifications of its parts, and that it is capable of all these modifications where a sufficient cause works upon it." His transfigured body, therefore, moulded into form and shape by the imagination and other natural powers of its actuating Spirit, could easily pass through such bodies as to others were impervious, and was at will not subject to the pull of gravity. He rarely exercised this power of the Spirit during his life upon earth. But after he had passed through death, his quickening Spirit subdued all that was mortal in him, broke through and melted his body into such rarity, tenuity, and fineness as would like a winged chariot carry him into the ethereal heavens.⁴⁰ Such spiritualized bodies human beings may expect to acquire at the resurrection. But most marvellous of all, since "that excellent and most energetical part in us which the Scripture calls *Spirit*, being thoroughly enlivened, hath a power to quicken any kinde of body it is united with into a vigour and subtility answerable to its own might and purity," men may attain *in this life* a glorified body such as that of the transfigured or risen Christ. Observe that holy man, Elias; "the chariots of fire and horses of fire mentioned in the story of his ascension plainly signify to the intellectual reader in what kind of *vehicle* he ascended." Rust concludes:

And something like this may be said also of Elias; that he had attained in some sort to the *resurrection of the dead* in this life, which in the Jewish notion is the same with the *vivification of the body* (as is plain in many places in St. Paul's Epistles).⁴¹

From the considerations presented above some might deduce the conclusion that Milton is an eclectic who slavishly reproduces in poetic form a conglomeration of speculations transmitted to him from ancient Pythagoreans and Chaldeans through early Neo-platonists, mediaeval scholastics, and the Platonists of his time. The fact is, however, that Milton is no eclectic. He does indeed employ the concept, elaborated by Origen, Avencebrol, Duns Scotus, and others, of one homogeneous matter differentiated by a hierarchy of forms. His scale of Nature is not completely original with him. Moreover, he follows the Platonists in attributing to the human spirit the vital power of determining the state of its material body. But he also reads the sacred Scriptures and interprets them independently for himself. He will not therefore support the

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-111.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

theory of pre-existing souls—created in the beginning with or without bodies of any texture—who through their fault and negligence fell from their high estate and became inhabitants of the earth in terrestrial bodies. When God created man in his own image, says he, “it was not the body alone that was then made, but the soul of man also (in which our likeness to God principally consists).”⁴²

God formed man of the dust of the ground,
And breathed into his nostrils the breath of life;
Thus man became a living soul.

Though the whole man into whose body God breathed the breath of life may thus be called a “living soul,” still the animating spirit may be distinguished in thought from the material body.⁴³ And “unless we had rather take the heathen writers for our teachers respecting the nature of the soul,” this breath of life infused into man

was not a portion of God’s essence, or a participation of the divine nature, but that measure of the divine virtue or influence, which was commensurate to the capabilities of the recipient.⁴⁴

So Milton would conceive for the human spirit an origin different from that attributed to it by many contemporary thinkers.

III

Any adequate exposition of Milton’s doctrine concerning the soul’s origin must, it seems to me, emphasize the hylomorphic composition of all created things. “For,” says he, “there is nothing that does not have its form, though unknown to us.”⁴⁵ He holds it self-evident that “man consists of spirit and body,” and that “the rational soul is the form of man, since through this man is man and is distinguished from all other natures.”⁴⁶ What, then, is the proximate origin of the human soul considered as the form of the body? He does not leave us in doubt:

It is acknowledged by the common consent of almost all philosophers, that every *form*, to which class the human soul must be considered as belonging, is produced by the power of matter.⁴⁷

But from such a statement as this we must not conclude, with Saurat, that “for Milton all is matter, and spirit is only a more refined sort of matter,”⁴⁸ or with Masson, that “All created Being, whether called soul

⁴² *De Doctrina*, pp. 37, 39.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 43.

⁴⁵ *Logic*, p. 59.

⁴⁷ *De Doctrina*, p. 49.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 61.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 305.

or body, consists of but one primordial matter.”⁴⁹ Milton does not say that the human soul was produced from matter or that it consists of matter; he says precisely what he means, namely, that it was produced “by the power of matter.” Matter *per se* is completely passive and has no power within itself to produce anything until it is prepared for the reception of forms by the efficient cause, who is God. Says Milton:

In the order of nature matter follows the efficient cause, and is a sort of effect of the efficient cause; for the efficient cause prepares the matter that it may be fit for receiving the form. As the efficient cause is that which first moves, so the matter is that which is first moved.⁵⁰

It is therefore evident that God, the efficient cause, has not only prepared from primary matter a remote-secondary matter fitted for the reception of forms, but has also communicated to it his divine virtue or influence, i.e., the forms of all created things. And the form thus communicated is the “power” of matter which produces the human soul. As Milton concludes:

There seems therefore no reason, why the soul of man should be made an exception to the general law of creation. For . . . God breathed the breath of life into other living beings, and blended it so intimately with matter, that the propagation and production of the human form were analogous to those of other forms, and *were the proper effect of that power which had been communicated to matter by the Deity.*⁵¹

In *Paradise Lost* Milton gives a graphic representation of the manner in which God communicates forms to a prepared matter, and reveals concretely how the “power of matter” produces within six days all the creatures of the visible world, including the spirit of man. Here, as we have said, primary matter—produced originally as an emanation or efflux from the Deity, i.e., as the effect of a bodily power or virtue subsisting within his spiritual Being⁵²—has already been differentiated into the four elements by the power of God. This remote-secondary matter, called chaos, is without definite bounds and dimensions; within its “crude consistence” hot, cold, moist and dry strive tumultuously for the mastery because they as yet represent neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire, “But all these in their pregnant causes mixed confusedly.” The “dark materials” of this chaos constitute the substrate of generation and corruption, the womb of Nature and perhaps her grave (II, 890–

⁴⁹ Quoted from A. W. Verity, *Paradise Lost*, p. 494. Such an interpretation would rank Milton along with those other materialists described by Cudworth, *op. cit.*, II, 313 ff.

⁵⁰ *Logic*, p. 51.

⁵¹ *De Doctrina*, p. 53.

⁵² *De Doctrina*, pp. 21–23. I have already discussed the efflux of primary matter from the spiritual Being of God in my forthcoming study, “Milton's Chaos and Old Night.”

940). And it is this formless substance, this remote matter prepared by the efficient cause for the reception of forms, which is "afterwards adorned and digested into order by the hand of God."⁵³ The process of adorning a selected part of chaos with vitalizing forms—that is, the process of creation—is dramatically represented. God conceives of the cosmos and by an exercise of will executes his design through his power and virtue invested in his Son, the Word, who serves as executive agent. Thus the Word, accompanied by God's Spirit and might, rides with the hosts of Heaven into wildly surging chaos and with golden compasses establishes bounds to that portion of it which is to become the visible Universe. As Milton concludes:

Thus God the Heaven created, thus the Earth:
Matter unformed and void; darkness profound
Covered the Abyss; but on the watery calm
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
And vital virtue infused, and vital warmth,
Throughout the fluid mass, but downward purged
The black, tartareous, cold, infernal dregs,
Adverse to life; then founded, then conglobed,
Like things to like, the rest to several place
Disparted, and between spun out the air,
And Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung (VII, 232-242).

And the creation of the visible Universe is instantaneous and complete.⁵⁴ The "vital virtue" and "vital warmth" which the Spirit infuses into matter constitute the forms of all things invested with the vital power of autonomous development. Here the Spirit of God—"that is," says Milton, "his divine power, rather than any person"⁵⁵—communicates to chaotic matter those creative powers or hidden seeds of things born corporeally—sometimes called "seminal reasons" or *logoi spermatikoi*—which are the pale reflections of exemplars in the mind of God.⁵⁶ Here we find

one first matter all,
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life.

⁵³ *De Doctrina*, p. 23.

⁵⁴ Professor Harris Francis Fletcher, in his excellent *Milton's Rabbinical Readings* (Urbana, 1930), pp. 122 ff., draws an illuminating distinction between the Act of Creation, which is immediate, and the process of the working out of creation through six days.

⁵⁵ *De Doctrina*, p. 13.

⁵⁶ I have discussed at length this problem of Augustinian exemplarism in my *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* (Baton Rouge, 1937), pp. 32 ff. Milton, it seems to me, is here following Augustine or the Augustinian tradition in his representation of the impregnation of matter by the Spirit of God.

Within the vitalized forms—manifestations not of divine essence but merely of the might and virtue of the Deity—God has set his commands for the unfolding of all things in the visible world during the six days of creation. And having so invested the matter of the universe with his vitalizing power—which fills all space as with a light—God as pure spiritual essence retires from the material complex and allows it to develop as he has commanded (VII, 169–172).⁵⁷ Still for various reasons Milton employs the Biblical formula, “And God said . . .”

On the sixth day, for example, God said, “Let the Earth bring forth soul⁵⁸ living in her kind.” And the Earth, already impregnated with the vital forms of every living thing, obeys. Straightway out of the ground uprise beasts of the field as from their lairs; the grassy clods calve, and broad herds spring up; the lion paws himself free from the binding earth; other animals, rising, throw the crumbled soil above them; the stag bears up his branching head from underground; behemoth, biggest born of earth, heaves up his vastness. And now from this same Earth, so quickened by the vital virtue of the Spirit of God, springs the chief of all natural creatures, man, endued with the sanctity of reason and ordained to govern the rest. Self-knowing, he stands erect and finds himself capable of directing worship and devotion to God Supreme. Thus the rational spirit or form of man, like the breath of life in other living creatures, is the effect produced by that power which God communicated through his Spirit to a prepared matter. When therefore on the sixth day this form of man is intimately blended with matter, i.e., when God makes man out of the dust of the ground and breathes into his nostrils the breath of life, Adam stands forth as a complete “living soul.”⁵⁸ In this manner Milton would explain the divine origin of the human spirit as form of the body. But once the spirit is generated, he invests it with that same dynamism which Neo-platonists attribute to the pre-existent souls of men.⁵⁹ Before the fall Adam is immortal; his obedient spirit may, in the lapse of time, sublimate his

⁵⁷ For different interpretations of God's “withdrawal,” see Saurat, *op. cit.*, pp. 286 ff., and George Coffin Taylor, *Milton's Use of Du Bartas* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 42.

⁵⁸ We must not forget that “soul” in this sense refers to the whole living creature composed of matter and form, matter instinct with the breath of life, and, in man, matter or body intimately blended with the rational soul or spirit. See again *De Doctrina*, pp. 41, 43. Here we are interested only in the origins of the rational soul.

⁵⁹ As early as *Comus* (ll. 459–463) Milton toys with this idea, but he has not yet incorporated it into a philosophical system. His description (*Comus*, 465–469) of the soul's defilement by acts of sin until she loses “The divine property of her first being” smacks of the Neo-platonic conception of the pre-existent soul's fall through folly into the defiling body, though he is speaking merely of what may happen to the soul in this life.

natural body to the texture of the angelic body, and he may dwell in Heaven or in Paradise as he pleases.⁶⁰

In conclusion, it must be observed that Milton's doctrine concerning the scale of nature represents a distinguished syncretism of elements derived from a variety of philosophical traditions. His reason and poetic imagination, working in harmony, fuse the Christian concept of an historical creation dependent upon the will of God with Neo-platonic speculations regarding the human spirit's power to determine the state of its material body. He embraces something like Augustinian exemplarism and combines it with the theory of a plurality of forms which differentiate one homogeneous matter into a multiplicity of appropriate matters. Thus the unity of all created things is established; the creatures of the visible and invisible worlds differ in degree of perfection but not in kind. This doctrine cannot be called "materialism," because active spiritual essences are consistently distinguished from the passive materials which they modify. It cannot be designated "pantheism," because God as pure spirit does not extend his divine nature or essence into the material world; he creates and supports by a communication of his virtue or power or influence. But since both visible and invisible creation is rooted in the propagation of a material cause or principle inherent in the spiritual Being of God, Milton's full concept of the scale of Nature may properly be called theopantism.

⁶⁰ The fall, of course, brings death to the body and dissolution to the spirit. But we are not here concerned with that problem.

LEIBNIZ AND THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

A. E. SOKOL

Stanford University

To a certain extent the development of the German language mirrors the fate of the German people as a whole. Both show the alternation of ups and downs which is characteristic of the history of the German nation, in which several periods of great political power or richly flourishing cultural life are followed by others of equally great weakness. In comparison, English, French, or Spanish history presents a much steadier curve of gradual rise or decline.

One of the worst of these periods of German national and cultural depression was the one which began in the early seventeenth century, the time of the Thirty Years' War, and lasted well into the eighteenth century. This national calamity had its marked parallel in the condition of the German language, which no longer possessed the refinement and elegance of the thirteenth century nor the forcefulness and plasticity of Luther's speech. Just as, during the seventeenth century, most of the German princes and their courts lost all national consciousness and contented themselves with the imitation of foreign examples, so also the German language of that time experienced so large an influx of foreign words and phrases that it finally seemed to be on the verge of developing into a new composite tongue. Especially was this true of the language spoken and written by the educated and cultured classes, the language used in official documents, and technical terminology in general. In this deluge of foreign words, only the connecting links, pronouns, prepositions, and other short words remained German.¹

Many Germans of that time naturally deplored the condition in which their language found itself. They realized that the common German tongue was one of the strongest ties to keep the German nation

¹ A typical example of that linguistic mixture is the following ironical poem, an "Alamodisches Lied," found in Georg Neumark's "*Der neusprossende Palmaum*" (1668):

Reverierte Dame, Phönix meiner Ame, gebt mir Audienz,
Eurer Gunst Meriten machen zu Falliten meine Patienz.
Ach, ich admiriere und consideriere Eure Violenz;
Wie die Liebesflamme mich brennt sonder Blame gleich der Pestilenz.
Ihr seid sehr capable, ich bin peu valable in der Eloquenz,
Aber mein Servieren pflegt zu dependieren von der Influenz. . . .

united, especially at a time when religious, dynastic, internal, and external strife were shaking its very foundation. A mixing of the language with foreign elements, differing in different sections of the country according to the speech of the nearest neighbor, might easily lead to national disintegration, especially as Germany also lacks geographic unity. Holland and, to some extent, Switzerland, are proof of the possibility of political secession following linguistic separation.

To counteract this tendency of linguistic mixing, to purify and generally improve the German language, individuals arose, and societies were organized, who, animated by strong national feeling, tried to fight and to ridicule the "Alamode-wesen," the affectation of foreign styles in language and life. In the effort to reform the German language of that time, these purists directed their agitation chiefly against foreign words, but they also worked for the promotion of a poetical language and for the advancement of German poetry in general, while they paid little attention to other branches of speech. Their fervor for the substitution of German words for these foreign equivalents was, however, often governed more by their enthusiasm for the German language than by any knowledge of its laws and history.²

On the whole these reformers rendered valuable service to the German language, by calling attention to its dire state and by pointing out some of the means of improving it. But what they overlooked, or if they did realize it, what they could not mend, was the low state, both physically and psychologically, in which Germany found herself as a consequence of the Thirty Years' War. What was needed above all, before a real improvement in language and literature could be expected, was the reawakening of German cultural life, the leadership of a few men of genius who could point the way to a better future.

It was not until toward the end of the seventeenth century that such men began to appear, men whose work caused the world again to think more highly of the Germans and who gave their own people a feeling of returning pride and self-confidence. One of the first of them was the philosopher and mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716).

It may be somewhat surprising to see him mentioned in connection with the German language, when it is generally known that he wrote most of his works either in Latin or in French. For a long time only one work of general interest was known to have been written by him in his

² For examples to illustrate these efforts, cf. especially F. A. Brandstätter, *Die Gallicismen in der deutschen Schriftsprache* (Leipzig, 1874); H. Harbrecht, *Philipp von Zesen als Sprachreiner* (Dissertation, Freiburg, 1912).

mother tongue, and until well into the nineteenth century even the Germans reproached him for his lack of interest in his native language, and his inability to express himself in it. During the last century, however, more of his German writings have become known, and today it is recognized that they form a considerable part of his literary work. Naturally, he used the vernacular for that part of his writings which dealt with problems of interest to the Germans only, while he wrote in Latin or French whenever he wished to communicate his ideas to the world of culture as a whole. In that procedure he followed the custom of his time. Besides, only by so doing was it possible for him to make the deep impression on the world outside of Germany which was so much needed at that time. Leibniz expressed his own attitude toward the question when he wrote: "Ich hätte lieber deutsch geschrieben, sonderlich weil die deutsche Sprache keine *Terminaisonen* [clumsy word-formations by adding endings, like "*postalisch*" from *Post*] leidet, man wollte denn fremde Worte ungescheut hineinflicken. Allein es hätte dergestalt dem Ausländer nicht kommuniziert werden können."³

Although Leibniz could not be called a philologist in the modern sense, his fame as a philosopher and a mind of universal sweep cannot help giving weight to his utterances on the German language. His ideas on the subject are best expressed in two essays written in German, the *Ermahnung an die Teutsche* (about 1680), and the better known *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken* (probably a few years later). In addition, he set forth some of his views regarding the German language in his Latin introduction to the *Antibarbarus* of the Italian writer, Nizolius, which he edited in 1670. As might be expected, his other works, his letters, and "memoranda" also contain many references to language in general, and to the German idiom in particular.⁴

In the *Antibarbarus*, the earliest of the three works mentioned, the author, Nizolius, attacks the bombastic style of the scholastic philosophers, and pleads for clearness and precision of philosophical language. In his introduction to this work, Leibniz deals with the best method of

³ Cf. Edmund Pfeiderer, *Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz als Patriot, Staatsmann und Bildungsträger* (Leipzig, 1870).

⁴ *Ermahnung an die Teutsche, ihren Verstand und Sprache besser zu üben sammt beigefügtem Vorschlag einer Teutsch gesinten Gesellschaft; Unvorgreifliche Gedanken betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der Teutschen Sprache, Antibarbarus seu de veris principiis et vera ratione philosophandi contra Pseudophilosophos*. Leibniz' introduction to this work bears the title: *de optima philosophi dictione*. Various editions of these essays are available, the handiest probably being the one by P. Pietsch, in his *Leibniz und die deutsche Sprache* (Wissenschaftliche Beihefte zur Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachvereins, Berlin 1902-1908, Vierte Reihe, Heft 29). The two German essays are given in the original, the Latin in German excerpts. Preface and notes increase the usefulness of this work.

philosophical presentation, and starts out by demanding that speech exhibit the following three qualities: clarity, truth, and good taste (*claritas, veritas et elegantia*). It is the first two of these requirements which most interest us here. For in pursuing his argument, Leibniz states that only in the vernacular are the necessary clarity and truth attainable. "That which can not be discussed in the vernacular . . . is worthless." For that reason some philosophers demand that their argumentative opponents either clearly define their technical terms, or that they express themselves in their native idiom. Usually they either prove to be unable to do that or by doing so demonstrate the hollowness of their statements. England and France, he goes on to say, have outgrown scholastic philosophy earlier than Germany, because in those countries the vernacular had become the language of philosophy sooner than in Germany, so that everyone, even women, could take part in philosophical thought and discussion.

Naturally the question arose in the philosopher's mind whether the German language was at all adequate to this task, whether the deepest and most complicated thoughts could be expressed in that tongue. Leibniz answered this question emphatically in the affirmative. "I dare state that no European language is better qualified for this sifting examination and evaluation of philosophic doctrines than the German. For it is exceedingly rich in terms for the real On the other hand, it is least fitted to express mere phantoms. . . ."

It may be noted here that it was seventeen years after the writing of this essay, in 1687, that Thomasius, at Leipzig, gave the first university lecture in the German language—after Paracelsus had made an unsuccessful attempt, a hundred and sixty years earlier, at the University of Basel. It also is significant that one of the pupils and interpreters of Leibniz, Christian Wolf (1679–1754), wrote his work mainly in German, and that he became one of the creators of modern German philosophic terminology, of which the Mystics of the fourteenth century had laid the foundation.

In the preface to the *Antibarbarus*, Leibniz, with the youthful enthusiasm of his twenty-four years, had showed himself well satisfied with the German language. Ten years later he returned to the same problem, but now he was no longer so positive about the adequacy of the German vernacular, and was more concerned with the means of improving it. In the *Ermahnung*, Leibniz, first of all, asserts the duty of everyone to work for his country and his nation. The German nation, however, had suffered through neglect of its past glory, and by merely copying foreign ways in life and language. Yet the German Bible (a better translation

is not found in any language) testified to the high state of perfection which the German language had reached in former times.

Leibniz then goes on by praising the efforts of the purists, but in his opinion they fought with inadequate weapons. What was necessary was not only improvement in poetic language, but also in scientific writing, resulting in "stuff of more weight and value." If the Germans wished to impress foreigners with their achievements, and win over those compatriots who had been looking abroad for their intellectual food, "the German garden must bring forth not only beautiful lilies and roses, but also sweet apples and healthful herbs." Whenever people generally should begin to write a good style, then there would be hope that reason also would become a general possession, since language is but the mirror of reason. And since the Germans had possessed these gifts in former days, Leibniz advises his countrymen to return to their old habits. "In Germany we have paid too much attention to Latin and to artificiality, and too little to the mother tongue and to nature, which has had a detrimental effect on scholars and on the nation as a whole." Of course, reviving old customs might also mean the return of the former crazy drinking habits, but then, Leibniz asserts, even a drunken old German was often enough more sensible than a sober imitator of the French.

However, Leibniz did not stop, as the purists had done, with a criticism of the foreign words in the German language; he also turned his attention to the style of contemporary German writers in general, their phrasing, sentence structure, and reasoning. Style as a whole had to be improved before real progress in language as well as in civilization could be hoped for. To that end he advocated the foundation of a society whose chief concern it should be to promote all activities that give promise of renewing and maintaining the fame of the German nation, particularly in all matters concerning science and reason. And since these are interpreted and preserved by language, it should be the purpose of the proposed "Teutschgesinte Gesellschaft" to see to it that useful and thoughtful works be written in German to serve as an example to others.⁵

Several years later Leibniz returned to the subject of the improvement of the German language, in the *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken*, the most important and most finished of his German writings. "Unvorgreiflich" here means "without encroaching upon other or better suggestions." In this essay Leibniz elaborates the ideas set down in the

⁵ It may be noted that such a society was eventually founded, in Berlin, 1700, under the title "Academy of Science," and that Leibniz was its first president.

Ermahnung and makes some concrete suggestions as to the duties of the proposed society. The treatise is rich in remarks and observations regarding language in general, showing the universal knowledge, the deep insight and judgment of the writer, who in many respects was far in advance of his contemporaries. The fact that Leibniz owed most of his knowledge of German philology to the grammarian Georg Schottelius (1612–1676) does not diminish the importance of his own achievements in this field, as we need not be so much concerned with the sources from which he derived his knowledge as with the use he made of it.⁶

In the *Unvorgreiffliche Gedanken*, Leibniz again praises the German language for its wealth of concrete words and technical terms, many of which have even been adopted by other nations. Yet he deplors the comparative lack in the language of abstract words and terms expressing feeling, passion, and affairs of state. A sufficient number of such words must be made available so as to improve the language as a basis for thinking and reasoning. On the other hand, this lack is not without its advantages, and Leibniz states that he often has boasted to foreigners that the Germans had a touchstone with which to test the truth of a given idea. That touchstone is the German language itself, for what can be expressed in it without the help of foreign or unusual words is bound to be something worth while; empty and useless thoughts, however, can find no corresponding expression in the pure German tongue.

Since Leibniz considers words the foundation of a language, he urges the study and registration of all German words as one of the foremost requirements for the improvement of German. Not only the words of general occurrence should be included in this survey, but all technical terms, and the words of Germanic origin in contemporary and older Germanic dialects. Otherwise it would be impossible to arrive at the true original meaning of modern words, as the dialects often preserve the original form and meaning of the word better or longer than the written language. He would not, however, advise having all these words combined in a single work, but suggests that it consist of three parts: the first, to be called "Sprachbrauch" or *lexicon*, to include all words of common use; the "Sprach-Schatz" or *cornu copiae* would contain the technical terms; the obsolete words and those of the Germanic dialects should be gathered in the "Sprachquell" or *glossarium*. Although this latter might not be considered important for practical purposes, Leibniz

⁶ Cf. A. Schmarsow, *Leibniz und Schottelius. Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, XIII (Strassburg, 1877).

For a more comprehensive study of Leibniz' views on philology in general, besides his own works, see especially: G. Stammer, *Leibniz* (München, 1930); A. G. Langley, *New Essays concerning Human Understanding by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz* (New York, 1896).

urges its inclusion for the sake of the prestige of the German nation, and because of its value for the understanding of history and prehistory, if it be worked out on a scientific basis. Obviously, the French and the Italians, not to mention the English, would also derive great help from such a *Glossarium Etymologicum*, since their languages contain many German words. Especially so, since in German antiquity, and particularly in the ancient German language which is much older than even the oldest Greek and Latin books, is contained the origin of the European peoples and their languages, and partly also the origin of ancient divine worship, of customs, laws, and many other aspects of life.

It may be said in parenthesis that while Leibniz shares with his contemporaries the belief in an original, natural, or—to use the language of Jacob Boehme—"Adamitic" language, he does not believe this mother-idiom to be represented by any of the living or known languages. He does believe, however, that the German is nearer to that original language than most others, and that it therefore merits specially careful investigation.

Leibniz does not consider words to be merely arbitrary or conventional signs, but believes that in many cases our words have a natural basis and are traceable to a natural connection existing between certain sounds and certain ideas. As an example of his theory that words are not produced by chance alone, he inquires into the original meaning of the term "Welt," world. He first points out the necessity of taking the oldest available form of the word into consideration, the form found in the Old-German books, which is "Werelt." From this he deduces the actual meaning of the word as "circumference of the earth," or *Orbis terrarum*. For, so he reasons, "Wirren"—or the English word "wire," the Greek "gyrus"—suggests something which surrounds a thing. The root of these words is the "W," which expresses an alternating or rotary motion, as we also find it in the words "wehen," "Wind," "Waage," "Woge," "Welle," or the English "wheel." In addition to these, the "W" also occurs in terms like "Wirbel," "Quirl," "bewegen," "winden," "wenden," "Waltze," the French "vis sans fin," the Latin "volvo," "vërto," "vortex," and many others. Some etymologists, he continues, derive "Welt" from "währen," to last, and connect it with the old root "ew," *seculum*; yet only a scrutiny of the old sources, and not the present appearance of a word, will furnish the correct solution. Here Leibniz states one of the fundamental rules of scientific etymology, long before this rule was generally accepted by professional philologists. Today, after several centuries of philological investigation, and with a much richer material on hand, we arrive at a different etymology for the

term "Welt." Yet we still recognize the principle established by the philosopher. Besides, we have only to compare his method with that of some of his contemporaries to recognize his superiority.⁷

In a third part of the *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken*, Leibniz turns to the analysis of colloquial speech, the desirable qualities of which he asserts to be wealth, purity, and splendor (*Reichthum, Reinigkeit und Glantz*). In order to test the wealth of a language, he examines its adequateness for translation from other languages. Since he no longer believes the German of his days to be satisfactory in this respect, he advises the adoption of additional words, first by reviving valuable old and forgotten words, secondly by admitting or naturalizing good foreign words, and last by cautiously inventing or creating new words. In this connection he also suggests a scientific scrutiny of older German literary works, and here again he distances in judgment all his contemporaries. He includes in his list of works proposed for study those of Hans Sachs and Paracelsus, both of whom, as belonging to the dark ages before Martin Opitz, and as South Germans, though recognized today as outstanding writers of their period, were neglected by seventeenth century criticism.

According to Leibniz, the registration of words or names of objects and actions ought to be done in twofold manner: first in alphabetical order, and secondly according to their meaning. The first method would result in a *Lexicorum*, or "Deutungs-Buch," the other in a *Nomenclator*, or "Nahm-Buch." The first would give the meaning of a word, the second would list the names of objects. These two could serve as a basis for the listing of words in various other ways, as necessity arose.⁸

With regard to the required purity of the language, Leibniz avoids going to extremes.⁹ He is opposed to the excessive use of foreign words

⁷ To illustrate the difference between his method and the "intuitive" procedure in etymology, a few examples of Zesen's explanations may be quoted: "Süd" is the place where "es im Mittag südend-heis ist," "West" is that part of the world "da die Sonne gewest ist." Cf. H. Rückert, *Geschichte der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache* (Leipzig, 1875), II. Band, p. 305.

More examples of Leibniz' etymological method may be found in his "New Essays," translated by Langley, *op. cit.*, who summarizes his views on Leibniz as a comparative philologist by saying: "Leibniz was the first who, from the point of view of a presentiment of the kindred connection, first of the European, and then of the remaining languages, demanded and himself urged on the comparative study of languages, and in this, as in so many other things, was far in advance of his time."

⁸ In this connection it is interesting to note that two recently published word-books, *Der Sprach-Brockhaus*, and the fourth volume of the well known *Duden*, seem to aim at carrying out the idea of *Nomenclator*.

⁹ It may be noted here that in this German essay Leibniz himself refrains from using foreign words to any considerable extent, and that he even forms his own German synonyms whenever necessary and possible.

in German, but in contrast to the Purists he recognizes the distinction between a *Fremdwort* and a *Lehnwort*, and also the temporary need and educational value of foreign influence. Furthermore, he realizes that one cannot judge all kinds of literature or speech by the same standard. Poetical language, for instance, will not permit the use of foreign words to the same degree as does scientific writing, a point which was overlooked by the Purists.

Finally Leibniz discusses the rules for correct speech, or grammar. He considers it of secondary importance, words being of chief interest to him; but nevertheless he recognizes the necessity for a book which would clearly and correctly state customary usages in German, and which would address itself not only to Germans, but also to foreigners who wish to learn the language and who are sometimes told that there are no rules in that language. With the help of a good grammar many foreigners might be tempted to read German books, and thus contribute to re-establishing German prestige abroad. Yet we have to keep in mind, he warns, that it is custom or usage, and not the grammarian, that determines correctness of speech.

The third of the required qualities of good language, its beauty or splendor, is but briefly treated in the *Unvorgreifliche Gedanken*. Leibniz emphasizes the importance of prose, giving, with regard to value for language reform, scientific and philosophical language preference over poetry. While he may have been right in this assumption, considering the time in which he lived, and the campaign against foreign words which was waged at that time, the fact remains that it was the great poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth century which helped fully to develop the German language and finally gave it the three qualities which Leibniz had demanded. Nevertheless there can be little doubt that German literature needed men like Leibniz, their work and influence, in order to achieve anything like perfection.

In this brief discussion of the three essays in which Leibniz deals with the German language, we have seen how he passed from unquestioning belief in the intrinsic aptness of the German idiom to supplant Latin and other foreign languages as a vehicle of scientific thought, to a more critical attitude, and how later on, taking into consideration the existing weakness of German at that time, he proceeded to definite proposals of ways and means of remedying it; how he then worked for a reform, not only of the language itself, but of all those factors which would enhance the self-esteem and the glory of the nation as a whole. We have noted how he, who was not a professional philologist, by applying his historico-critical method to the study of language—though

often mistaken in matters of detail—did more for the advancement of the German language than his professional contemporaries who were satisfied either with guesswork, or with mere compilation of material. We also noted that Leibniz himself could write a German style superior to that employed by most writers of his time.

Nevertheless, Leibniz' direct contribution to the development of the German language was relatively small. The two German essays mentioned here were not published until after his death, the *Ermahnung* even remaining quite unknown for more than a hundred and fifty years. Leibniz was and still is remembered chiefly as the great philosopher, the universal mind, and the cosmopolitan, while his contributions to the study of his mother tongue are usually overlooked. His own spiritual offspring, the Prussian Academy of Sciences, neglected the German language as a field of investigation for a long time. Although in 1792 the Prussian minister Herzberg appointed a committee to carry out the suggestions of the philosopher with regard to the German language, his efforts failed, and even as late as 1899 the Academy expressed its regrets that it had become impossible to return to Latin as the language of science.

On the other hand, the significance of the philosopher's ideas and suggestions is made apparent by the fact that many of them actually have been carried out. Wilhelm von Humboldt, Bopp, the brothers Grimm realized some of them, even if more than a century after their conception. The ideal dictionary of the German language does not yet exist, but much valuable ground work has been done for it; the Teutschesintre Gesellschaft has yet to be founded, but the *Deutscher Sprachverein* and the various Academies have taken on themselves many of the duties which Leibniz would have assigned to his society. Besides, many of his casual observations and remarks have become watchwords of modern linguistic science. On the whole, then, Leibniz not only recognized the defects of the German of his days, but he also foresaw the lines of development which the language had to follow, and he left a program which later times attempted to carry out, even though they did not realize that they were following his suggestions.

THE CRITICISM OF GULLIVER'S "VOYAGE TO THE HOUYHNNHMS," 1726-1914

MERREL D. CLUBB

Oklahoma A. and M. College

O Gulliver, dost thou not shudder at thy brother Lucian's vultures hovering over thee?
Shudder on! They cannot shock thee more than decency has been shocked by thee! . . .
What a monster hast thou made of the

—Human face divine! *Milton*

. . .

If his favorite Houyhnhnms could write, and Swift had been one of them, every horse with him would have been an ass, and he would have written a panegyric on mankind, saddling with much reproach the present heroes of his pen: on the contrary, being born amongst men, and of consequence, piqued by many, and peevish at more, he has blasphemed a nature little lower than that of the angels, and assumed by far higher than they.

Young, Conjectures on Original Composition (1759)

Edward Young's indictment represents one of the extremes to which criticism of Part IV of *Gulliver's Travels* has gone in the two hundred and fourteen years since its publication. In the twentieth century, however, the terminology of the supernatural has, for many persons, lost its force. To reduce this extreme opinion to humanistic terms—according to G. R. Dennis,

The satire is here turned against human nature itself, and in his morbid effort to degrade mankind below the level of the brutes, Swift has violated every law of probability and outraged every canon of propriety. His tremendous genius was warped and clouded by the growing misanthropy of his later years, and the book, the first half of which is still the delight of children, concludes with the most horrible picture of depraved humanity that it is possible to conceive.¹

At the opposite pole from such invectives, a writer in *The Nation*,² commemorating "Two Hundred Years of Gulliver," prefers the fourth book to the first three.

[Swift] has devised a series of traps into which the running mind must fall. The deepest of these is in the last and best book If every reader is Gulliver, it is

¹ *Gulliver's Travels* . . . ed. . . . by G. Ravenscroft Dennis (*Bohn's Standard Library*, London, 1899), p. xxiv.

² Vol. CXXII, No. 3167 (March 17, 1926), p. 274. A note from the editorial office of *The Nation* has kindly identified the eulogist as Mark Van Doren. For an instance of the way in which the "Houyhnhnms" becomes a sword of division between sober and sentimental views of human nature, compare the phrasing of the opinion here given in the text with that of certain sentences in Carl Van Doren's *Swift* (New York, 1930), pp. 3, 191, 195-96.

to be hoped that every reader takes this most cleansing bath of self-examination, even if he thinks he is taking it only for his race. The millennium will be here when all men read *Gulliver's Travels* as children read it, and do not need to be ashamed.

The truth is, in recounting Gulliver's experiences among the Houyhnhnms and the Yahoos, not only did Jonathan Swift "divert" thousands of readers in spite of himself, and "vex" thousands of others as he intended, but he also purveyed an exquisite blend of pleasure and instruction to the few readers blessed with sufficient candor and sense of humor to understand him. At the same time, he has puzzled every one who has attempted to work out his exact meaning consistently with the details of his allegory and with the known facts of his life and character.

That it was Swift's purpose, notwithstanding an incredibly disarming statement to the effect that "the matter is so clear that it will admit of no dispute,"³ to puzzle the wary reader, as well as to vex the dense, is evident, first, from the intricate mystification involved in his hiding behind the fictional character and actions of Lemuel Gulliver, a personage by no means always to be identified with the author, and secondly, from an unnoticed clause in the same oft-quoted letter to Pope. (The letter is written, by the way, almost entirely in the highest spirits and in irrepressible good humor.) After he has confessed in one breath his hatred "of that animal called man" and his hearty love of "John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth," he adds: "This is the system upon which I have governed myself many years, *but do not tell*, and so I shall go on till I have done with them." Characteristic words these, "but do not tell," from a hypocrite reversed,⁴ a cynic and a misanthrope reversed. And no one has ever told on Swift with reference to the complete meaning of the "Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms." There is something esoteric about it which as yet the best-disposed critics have not quite caught. Even Swift's closest friends were no more than warm in the search for it. Perhaps only Arbuthnot was by temperament capable of understanding it. But if Arbuthnot had the key, he buried it with him.⁵

³ The sentence, addressed personally to Pope in the letter of September 29, 1725, comes at the end of Swift's painfully careful definition of his "misanthropy"—and his philanthropy.

(Unless otherwise stated, all citations of letters by members of the Swift circle are from *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. F. Elrington Ball. 6 vols. London, 1910-14.)

⁴ This first phrase is Lord Bolingbroke's. The cogency of reversing the second and third of the terms of reproach commonly applied to Swift is easy to establish for those who can read between the lines of his words and the actions which speak so much louder than the words, even when the actions are in disguise. (Author's italics above—*Swift* would not have italicized.)

⁵ Pope in a letter to Swift, December 14, 1725, writes of Dr. Arbuthnot as loving mischief "the best of any good-natured man in England." Over a decade earlier Arbuthnot had written

It is not the purpose of the present study to set forth a reinterpretation of the fourth "Voyage," though that is the ultimate aim of the investigation upon which it is based. Rather an attempt will be made to trace the most important or most effective pronouncements uttered between the publication of *Gulliver* and the beginning of the first World War, when fresh attitudes and new methods begin to appear in treatments of Part IV. One who traverses this wide territory from 1726 to 1914 finds that his discoveries are of value from two standpoints. In the first place, the material is intrinsically interesting as a revelation of the most intimate philosophies of human nature in the large which vigorous personalities have come to espouse on the basis either of mature experience or of strenuous idealism (often blended with wishful thinking). For the "Houyhnhnms" is a philosophic touchstone to which men cannot fail to react one way or another if they catch the point at all. Especially among the adverse critiques it will become evident, according to one's point of view, either (to the realist) that the shoe fits and pinches terribly at the same time, if such a paradox is conceivable; or (to the sentimentalist) that Swift's lash, smarting as it does so madly, justifies a defense as tigerish as the supposed attack. In any event, the result is often flamboyant and even racy writing. Swift's defenders are for the most part less colorful. At their best their views are moderated and balanced by an awareness (often incomplete) of the two sides of Swift's basic aim and argument. But the saner opinions, though less hyperbolically sensational, are as interesting as the purple and gold passages of the attacking cohorts, and they are often more tastefully expressed.

In the second place, the shifting of opinion concerning the fourth "Voyage" reveals certain notable points in the history of socio-ethical philosophy, both in the changes of the *Zeitgeist* and in the individual differences among the sturdy souls who dare oppose the broad sweep of what has always been the prevailing current. With reference to the total field, Ricardo Quintana has well said, "An inclusive survey of the critical assessments of *Gulliver's Travels* from the time of Swift's death down to the present would throw a great deal of light upon the formation of standard attitudes toward well-known works of art and the manner in which these attitudes are perpetuated."⁶

This partial survey will inevitably seem incomplete, first, because

to Swift (August 12, 1714) concerning "that treasure of vileness that I always believed to be in the heart of man; . . . every new instance, instead of surprising and grieving me as it does some of my friends, really diverts me and in a manner improves my theory."

⁶ *The Mind and Art of Jonathan Swift* (New York, 1936), p. 306. The study in hand was undertaken, largely completed, and presented in summary before the Philological Association of the Pacific Coast, in 1933.

limitations of space make it advisable to omit a number of relevant passages, and secondly, because the collection is surely far from exhaustive. For instance, only the merest sampling is given of opinion from Continental Europe. On the other hand, the writer feels that no apology—merely an explanation—is required to justify the bulk of the quotations. The main value lies in making accessible, in their own words, the opinions of many men over almost two centuries. Furthermore, the author must confess that though he has quoted the attackers literally, he himself is no apathetic collector—he is *parti pris*, as will appear from the running comment. Professor Quintana's remark concerning the interrelationship between Swift's personality and his ethical ideas is borne out by the entire body of the criticism: "An absolute suspension of judgment is impossible; indeed, it is perhaps unnatural. . . ."⁷ It is, of course, an unfair request, but the author must ask the reader to give him the benefit of the doubt or for the moment willingly to suspend disbelief regarding what would be the dramatic consistency and effectiveness of his interpretation of the "Houyhnhnms" as a Morality, had he time to put it on the stage.

And here, a digression in the modern kind after the style of *A Tale of a Tub*—that is, a digression by no means unrelated to the main topic. As confirmation of the diverting and risible qualities of the fourth "Voyage," it was a pleasant surprise to be told by a teacher of high-school students that to Part IV, just as an exciting and amusing story, her class responded more warmly than even to Parts I and II. (Probably she allowed the story to speak for itself and let it be read uncolored by the ordinary inhibiting reservations with which many hypermoral adults approach it.) Yet surprise at the success of Part IV as a narrative is hardly intelligent. Thinking back to his first readings of *Gulliver* in his own high-school days, the author can remember no falling-off in excitement from I through IV, except that, in comparison with the others, III was just a little complicated and fragmentary for his adolescent mind.

By way of contrast, what chance of a fair reading would the story have if Mentor were a certain college teacher of English who, when the writer mentioned that he was working on the "Houyhnhnms," queried brightly, "Oh, yes, that's the part Swift wrote when he was crazy, isn't it?"

I

The longer one studies Swift, the more obvious it becomes that the interpretation and verdict to be placed on the "Voyage to the Hou-

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

yhnhnms" is, after all, the central problem of Swift criticism. As far back as 1784, Thomas Sheridan saw that the charge of misanthropy so often hurled at his father's friend was "chiefly founded upon his supposed satire on human nature in the picture he has drawn of the Yahoos," a misconception "adopted by almost all who have read *Gulliver's Travels*."⁸ And in 1914, R. D. O'Leary put the matter succinctly: "For Swift, the essence of *Gulliver* was in Part Four."⁹ Therefore, the proper place to begin even a desultory history of the criticism of Part IV is with Swift's own opinion of his book. All the evidence goes to show that the "Houyhnhnms" was due ultimately neither to the retaliation of personal disappointment nor to the raving of incipient madness, but that it contained the core of Swift's deepest and ripest thought about human nature. Nevertheless, its wisdom has proved to be a nut which has cost the critics many a tooth and paid the majority of them with nothing but a worm. For one reader who has fancied that Swift modestly, but withal seriously, proposed the consumption of the surplus of Irish infants for food, there have been thousands who have accepted with no discriminating qualification, the almost equally naive notions that the sagacious Houyhnhnms are animals, that the Yahoos are men, and that Gulliver is always Swift.

Much or little as the actual form and substance of the "Houyhnhnms" may have been affected by the disappointments, afflictions, and forebodings of Swift's life, it is obvious that the basic principles had long been germinating in his mind. Deane Swift reports at second hand: "Swift himself . . . declared . . . that he had laid the design of *Gulliver* eighteen years before it was printed; and consequently that must have been in the year 1708."¹⁰ However this may be, the "Houyhnhnms" is simply the culmination of the *Lectures upon a Dissection of Human Nature* and the *Panegyric upon the World*, which Swift had promised the readers of *A Tale of a Tub* would be "speedily published."¹¹ But, of course, the clay turned to leavened dough, and kept multiplying in the modeler's hands almost beyond a manageable quantity.

We cannot say when the *plan* of the "Houyhnhnms" began to take recognizable shape, though it must have been after 1714. In the thirteenth chapter of the *Memoirs of Scriblerus*, the scheme of the first two

⁸ *Life of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1784), p. 502.

⁹ "Swift and Whitman as Exponents of Human Nature," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXIV (1914), p. 188.

¹⁰ *An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1755), p. 208.

¹¹ Stephen Gwynn, in *The Life and Friendships of Dean Swift* (New York, 1933), p. 91, suggests that the author of *Gulliver* was already present in *A Tale of a Tub*: "So far back was this sinister imagination brooding grimly on the animal called man."

in other books
- exclaims outburst
of ST.

voyages is indicated definitely in the references to pygmies and giants, and that of the third broadly in the phrase, "the kingdom of the mathematicians," whereas that of the fourth is given only in general terms in the sentence: "And hence it is, that in his fourth voyage, [Scriblerus] discovered a vein of melancholy, proceeding almost to a disgust of his species."¹²

To the dating of the period of the *composition* of *Gulliver*, whether in whole or in part, attaches a point of major importance. One common view long held was that Swift had finished it, "in something like its present shape," in 1720.¹³ But according to Harold Williams, "There is nothing . . . in Swift's correspondence before 1720 to suggest that he was engaged with the writing of *Gulliver*." Williams admits, naturally, that it is not unlikely that before 1720 Swift was jotting down passages of satire which he later used.¹⁴ David Nichol Smith affirms that the *Gulliver* as we have it is not the product of the "six years of depression" after Swift's return to Ireland.¹⁵ And the inference to be drawn from the demonstrable order in which the four "Voyages" were written is clear: Part IV is not a fourth stage of progressive gloom,¹⁶ but is to be connected with Part II, which had many cheerful aspects, and was in turn followed hard upon by Part III,¹⁷ which contains much merriment, as well as a picture of human nature even more melancholy, as Thackeray himself noted, than the loathsome but gustful life of the Yahoos, namely, the life-cycle of the Struldbrugs. Ejaculations of general spite and gloom are likely to bob up anywhere in Swift's correspondence from 1713 on (and even earlier), but there are also at least equally significant outbursts of glee or good humor in the *Gulliver* period, indeed, from 1719 through 1725.¹⁸ Nichol Smith calls particular attention to the Dean's

¹² Aitken, *The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot* (Oxford, 1892), p. 354.

¹³ See Craik, *Life of Jonathan Swift* (second edition, London, 1894), II, 18, note.

¹⁴ *The Library*, Fourth Series, VI (1925-26), 234.

¹⁵ *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford* (Oxford, 1935), p. xxxix.

¹⁶ Cf. Gwynn, *op. cit.*, p. 297: "The fourth part . . . is the tremendous climax to his satire"; to be sure, it is, but not because it represents the nadir of Swift's personal melancholy.

¹⁷ Letter to Ford, January 19, 1724 (Smith, pp. 100-101): "I have left the Country of Horses, and am in the flying Island. . . ." It is clear from a Vanessa-letter of June, 1722, that the Yahoos were then in Swift's mind, but this is no proof of Ball's assertion that the entire *Travels* had been completed by then. Quintana (*op. cit.*, p. 290) notes that the letter alludes to Part II (in the monkey-on-the-roof episode), but he does not mention Vanessa's reference to the Yahoos in the grinning and unintelligible chattering of an audience whose "forms and gestures were very like those of baboons and monkeys"; it is not likely that Vanessa is originally responsible for the comparison.

¹⁸ On the whole, the gathering darkness seems to have become much more heavily oppressive after the receipt of "the ill account of Mrs. Johnson's health" alluded to on July 8, 1726. Nevertheless, one should not forget that many instances of relief from this oppression can be cited even in much later years.

rising cheerfulness during the process of revision.¹⁹ There are abundant signs of the *joie de vivre*, along with other moods, in the elaborate mystifications of the anonymous publication and the correspondence it entailed, and also in the gusto, simply outrageous at times, with which "The Publisher to the Reader" and "A Letter . . . to his Cousin Sympson" are written, not to mention the "bites" perpetrated in the gravest manner and scattered through the last ten pages or so of Part IV itself.²⁰

As we have seen, the letter from Arbuthnot written shortly after Queen Anne's death proves that he and Swift were at one with regard to the evil in human nature. But Swift must have been thoroughly aware that his keenest satire would be both hopelessly misinterpreted and plausibly explained away by ascription to a *growing* and irrational misanthropy, chargeable to age and personal disappointment. Not having read the last chapters of his own biography, of course, he could not imagine the lengths to which this pseudo-psychologizing would go; but he did deprecate, long in advance of the occasion, the world's attempt to slip out from under the lash on *one* plea, for he writes to Pope:

I desire you and all my friends will take special care that my disaffection to the world may not be imputed to my age, for *I have credible witnesses ready to depose that it has never varied from the twenty-first to the [if]ty-eighth year of my life.*²¹

II

Apparently, even before the publication of *Gulliver*, there was good-humored disagreement among the Scriblerians about the worth and dignity of human nature: with Swift and Arbuthnot, the misanthropes reversed, on one side, and Pope and St. John, the somewhat sentimental deists, on the other. (Pope's flair for satire made him unstable on his sentimental side.) Two months after the famous 'hate' letter, Swift is writing to Pope, on the heels of the sentence just quoted, an unequivocal retraction to which one is rarely referred: "*I tell you after all, that I do not hate mankind*"; it is *vous autres* who hate them, because you would have them reasonable animals, and are angry for being disappointed."²² He was goaded into this crucial repudiation of radical mis-

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. xli.

²⁰ Reference should be made to Quintana's brief but reasonable analysis of the *serious philosophic* side of Swift's state of mind, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-302.

²¹ November 26, 1725. Italics mine. Swift also took provision against the charge of personal spite as one of his ruling passions by the implication of a little section of the ironic skit in the verses "On the Death of Dr. Swift" (ed. W. E. Browning, I, 262, 11. 3-12).

²² English italics mine. The solemn unction with which a Victorian editor comments on passages from the wits of the early eighteenth century to which his sense of humor cannot rise could hardly be better illustrated than by the Reverend Whitwell Elwin's notes to the letters of September 29 and November 26 (*The Works of Alexander Pope*, VII, 53, and 63-64).

anthropy—collective not particular this time, be it noted—by such stabs as this from Pope (October 15, 1725):

I find you would rather be employed as an avenging angel of wrath, to break your vial of indignation over the heads of the wretched, pitiful creatures of this world; nay would make them eat your book, which you have made, I doubt not, as bitter a pill for them as possible.

Later Pope and Bolingbroke wrote him on the same day (December 14, 1725)—Pope to record, after twitting Swift in a rather cryptic style about the hatred he will have to support for being a wit and lacking discretion: "Lord Bolingbroke is above trifling; he is grown a great divine"; and Bolingbroke, after denying that he is above trifling, to pronounce in a manner at once jaunty and pompous:

Pope and you are very great wits, and I think very indifferent philosophers. If you despised the world as much as you pretend, and perhaps believe, you would not be so angry with it. . . . I believe the world has used me as scurvily as most people, and yet I could never find in my heart to be thoroughly angry with the simple, false, capricious thing. . . . Your definition of *animal capax rationis*, instead of the common one *animal rationale*, will not bear examination: define but reason, and you will see why your distinction is no better than that of the pontiff Cotta, between *mala ratio* and *bona ratio*. But enough of this. Make us a visit, and I will subscribe to any side of these important questions which you please.

There spoke the once-great man of the wide world! But Swift could have afforded a chuckle—Bolingbroke could not maintain such superb equilibrium when the little books, which almost five years earlier he had *longed* to see, were in his hands at last.

For a while after the appearance of *Gulliver's Travels*, October 28, 1726, criticism of the entire work seems to have been swallowed up in enjoyment and praise (or, as Dr. Johnson put it, "lost in wonder")—"All agree," said Pope, "in liking it extremely." Although specific opinions differed, and Pope amused himself a fortnight watching people's faces as their feelings were reflected, the poet found "no considerable man very angry at the book."²³ Nevertheless, on November 17, three weeks after the publication, Pope and Gay, in a joint letter, reporting circumstantially the acceptance of *Gulliver* by London society, included two items which though general would apply with particular force to Part IV, and which show that the old division in the Scriblerian inner circle was sure to continue on the original lines: (1) "Lord [Bolingbroke]²⁴ is the person who least approves it, blaming it as a

²³ Pope to Swift, November 26, 1726 (Ball's dating).

²⁴ The brackets are Elwin's and Ball's.

design of evil consequence to depreciate human nature"; whereas (2) "Dr. Arbuthnot . . . says it is ten thousand pities he had not known it [*i.e.*, Swift's authorship], he could have added such abundance of things upon every subject."²⁵ That Bolingbroke's reservation of full approval persisted and became specific with reference to Part IV, is evidenced by a sentence in the *Fragments, or Minutes of Essays*, L, in which, speaking of the "vast chain of Being," he makes the usual error of unqualified identification of the allegorical types: "Gulliver's horses made a very absurd figure in the place of men, and men would make one as absurd in the place of horses."²⁶

With such unmistakable signs of mild dissension in the bosom of the family, so to speak, it is not surprising that two attitudes toward the fourth "Voyage" quickly appeared in the world at large. As one would expect in such a witty age, many people, whether they grasped the depth of the satire or not, considered the "Voyage to the Houyhnhnms" a highly amusing and perfectly legitimate joke, and there is no evidence that they found it less interesting than the first two voyages. They addressed letters to Yahoos—"To the three Yahoos of Twickenham, Jonathan, Alexander, John"²⁷—they signed themselves Yahoo, tried to speak Houyhnhnm, accepted the phrase "to say the thing that is not" as a convenient euphemism, appointed a "neighing duetto" for the next opera, and, above all, it should be underscored, humorously adopted the words *Yahoo* and *Houyhnhnm* as exact synonyms for *man* and *horse*.²⁸ Indeed, on various occasions Swift himself lent encouragement to these games, calling Mrs. Howard a "Yahoo fond of shining pebbles," and in a later letter²⁹ to the same lady, rallying her in the following style:

²⁵ Aitken thinks the *Critical Remarks on Capt. Gulliver's Travels* (1734-35), ostensibly by one Dr. Bantley, may possibly have been written by Arbuthnot; but to Lester M. Beattie the ascription "seems to be ruled out on grounds of chronology." (See *John Arbuthnot, Mathematician and Satirist*, Cambridge, Mass., 1935, pp. 312-13.) Nevertheless, a sentence or two from the *Remarks* may well serve as a hint of what is likely to have been the good Arbuthnot's settled view of Part IV. Said Bantley, burlesquing Bentley (Aitken's natural inference), argues with solemn pedantry and many citations that such a nation as the Houyhnhnms (the word substituted, with literal ironic applications, for *horses*, in passages quoted from ancient literature) was perfectly known by the ancients, and that "their virtues were universally known and admired"; he concludes: "I do not doubt but this will clear Gulliver of another severe imputation which he lay under, for debasing human nature, by making men inferior to horses. Because . . . it is so plain that antiquity professed to be of a very different opinion, . . . that if we think mankind disgraced by the comparison, it is to their own vices, and not to the traveller's relation, that we ought to impute it." (Quoted in *The Life and Works of John Arbuthnot*, p. 506.)

²⁶ *The Works of the Late Right Honourable Henry St. John* . . . (London, 1809), VIII, 232.

²⁷ St. John, writing on July 23, 1726.

²⁸ Cf. the amusing literalism of Pope's "To Mr. Lemuel Gulliver: the Grateful Address of the Unhappy Houyhnhnms Now in Slavery and Bondage in England."

²⁹ February 1, 1727.

While I was caressing one of my Houyhnhnms, he bit my little finger so cruelly, that I am hardly able to write; and I impute the cause to some foreknowledge in him, that I was going to write to a Sieve Yahoo, for so you are pleased to call yourself.

See also—for something closer home and in the same vein, though belonging to the earlier period—the letter to Charles Ford dated January 19, 1724:

I would have him [Bolingbroke] and you know that I hate Yahoos of both sexes, and that Stella and Madame de Villette are onely tolerable at best, for want of Houyhnhnms.³⁰

It may be doubted whether the *dégagé*, somewhat hypergelastic readers of 1726 comprehended the allegory any more clearly than the vast majority of readers from that day to this. But at least, they did not come to Part IV with their sense of humor paralyzed by the traditional denunciation which has since been heaped upon it.

On the other hand, eighteenth century readers who were afflicted by nature or contamination with an unctuous and sentimental pride in what King Lear called "the thing itself" became suddenly conscious of a heavenly vocation to vindicate the race from this supposedly injurious attack, by misrepresenting it as a debasement of humanity, in which men are made inferior to beasts. In time, this opposition became so consolidated and fortified that the voices raised in protest against it have never been given a fair hearing down to the present day.

III

But before the exploration of as much of the two centuries of opinion as one can hope to cover is launched, it would be clarifying to list the objections and misunderstandings which the hostile carry away from reading Part IV, and which its defenders seek to remove: first, sweeping condemnation of the "Voyage," as a libel hurled against human nature, and, often, as a sacrilege committed against God; second, and almost always in combination with any form of the first, unqualified, or only clumsily qualified, identification of the Houyhnhnms and the Yahoos with the actual zoological genera *homo* and *equus*, and of Gulliver with Swift; third, the inference that in writing Part IV, a personally disappointed, gloomy, morose, mentally unhealthy, or even maniacally insane man, was paying off old scores; fourth, dissatisfaction with the Houyhnhnms, as *anything but* the "perfection of nature," implied in Swift's etymological explanation of the proper noun; fifth, repugnance

³⁰ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

to the filth and violence of some sections of the book, and total or relative misunderstanding of the intentions and methods of Swift's humor; and sixth, the verdicts of failure as narrative, inconsistency as allegory, and moral ineffectiveness or unwholesomeness as satire.

Sometime, probably early, in the November following the issue of the book, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote the most venomous statement ever made about the fourth "Voyage":

Great eloquence have they [Swift, Arbuthnot, and Pope] employed to prove themselves beasts, and shew such a veneration for horses, that since the Essex Quaker, nobody has appeared so passionately devoted to that species; and to say truth, they talk of a stable with so much warmth and affection, I cannot help suspecting some very powerful motive at the bottom of it.³¹

Lady Mary's letter did not appear in print till the unauthorized edition of 1763, when it would simply have reinforced an already entrenched position, but it is without doubt a genuinely early opinion. And to be sure, the gross charge it insinuates, together with faint overtones of another innuendo, was subject for many a merry quip in Pope's obscene but diverting epistle—"Mary Gulliver to Captain Lemuel Gulliver" (1727). One example will more than serve:

Forth in the street I rush with frantic cries;
The windows open, all the neighbors rise:
"Where sleeps my Gulliver? O tell me where?"
The neighbors answer, "With the Sorrel Mare."

...

I grieve . . . to see
The Groom and Sorrel Mare preferr'd to me.

Such banter Swift had laid himself open to and could very well support—if not enjoy—coming from Pope; but Lady Mary's slander was at

³¹ To the Countess of Mar (Lady Mary's sister). This is a family letter, not written for contemporary publication; hence one cannot reprehend it severely without incurring the charge of meddling in private affairs, but it is at least corroborative proof that Sappho was by no means defenseless in the shifting quarrels of the Augustans. I find no references to a whispering campaign started by "Montagu beyond compare." What Lady Mary would be at, if there can be any doubt, is sufficiently cleared up by the mere full title of Sir John Denham's "News from *Colchester*: or, a Proper New Ballad of Certain Carnal Passages betwixt a Quaker and a Colt at *Horsly* near *Colchester* in *Essex*. To the Tune of, *Tom of Bedlam*." Theodore Banks (*The Poetical Works of Sir John Denham*, p. 91) gives one grounds for supposing that the Essex Quaker was long a popular hero of balladry, for Gay refers to him in Scriblerian days very near the end of "The Shepherd's Week" (1714), and Denham's poem was imitated in 1721 and 1738.

Lady Mary came out into the open to the extent of the following reference to the Swift of the "Houyhnhnms" in "The Court of Dulness":

Mocks Newton's schemes, and Tillotson's discourse,
And imitates the virtues of a horse.

least half in earnest and must have represented what many a prude of both sexes was thinking and half wishing were a fact.

Equally early is the selection, as a title-page motto for a key to Part IV, of two lines which come very near catching the subtlety of Swift's purpose:

*Here Rochester's Remarks made good at least,
Man, differs more from Man; than Man from Beast.*³²

Across the Channel, Sybil Goulding notes that in two early reviews of the Abbé Desfontaines' translation of *Gulliver*, in *Mercure* and *Le Journal des Savants* (for May, and July, 1727, respectively), "Le quatrième Voyage . . . passe pour le plus beau."

C'est là que l'Auteur déploie par cent tours agréables une morale également fine et élevée. Il y fait sentir tous les defauts de l'humanité, en sort qu'il inspire à son lecteur un souverain mépris pour l'homme. Il n'y a pas un trait dans ce dernier Voyage qui ne soit beau et frappant. . . .

Le dernier *Voyage* est sans contredit celui qui renferme le plus de critique, de morale, et de sentiments vertueux.³³

Evidently France refused to be *vexed*, but one must add that Miss Goulding rightly calls attention (1) to the softness of Desfontaines' version, and (2) to the French critics' misunderstanding of Swift's purpose.

As the eighteenth century progressed, attacks on the fourth "Voyage" became more elaborate. By 1752, the Earl of Orrery, thinking it necessary "to assert the vindication of human nature, and thereby in some measure to pay my duty to the great author of our species," after a timid beginning, lays about him vigorously to strike down what he calls an "intolerable" misanthropy:

It is with great reluctance, I shall make some remarks on Gulliver's voyage to the Houyhnhnms. . . . The representation . . . must terrify, and even debase the mind of the reader who views it. . . . In painting the Yahoos [Swift] becomes one himself. Nor is the picture which he draws of the Houyhnhnms inviting or amusing. . . . [For in them] we view the pure instincts of brutes . . . acting within their own narrow sphere merely for their immediate preservation. . . . Their virtuous qualities are only negative. . . . The "Voyage to the Houyhnhnms" is a real insult to mankind.³⁴

The Reverend Patrick Delany was notable among Swift's friends and was in general his defender against parts of Orrery's *Remarks*. But as

³² *The Kingdom of Horses, being a Key to Gulliver's Voyage to the Houyhnhnms*, London, 1726. The Key itself contributes little. Italics original.

³³ *Swift en France* (Paris, 1924), pp. 79-80.

³⁴ *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1752—"printed 1751," Quintana), pp. 184-90, *passim*.

for the fourth "Voyage," he felt that the Earl had let Swift off too easily, and for ten pages he proceeded to outdo even the noble Remarker in vituperation.³⁵ It is

a piece more deform, erroneous, and (of consequence) less instructive, and agreeable than any of his productions. . . . The picture he draws of the Yahoos is too offensive to be copied, even in the slightest sketch, [debasing] the human form to the lowest degree of defiled imagination.

Like Orrery, Delany had no love for the Houyhnhnms, who, in his opinion, lack verisimilitude in their physical, mental, and moral characters. Further, Delany is solemnly in agreement with some of Swift's own humorously exasperated disclaimers of any faith whatsoever in the efficacy of his satire (disclaimers which should be taken with at least a grain of salt, but which have misled even so acute a critic as Professor Quintana). "I am fully satisfied," says Delany, "that exaggerated satire, never yet did any good, nor ever will."³⁶ It comes as no surprise when he thus concludes his critique of Swift's "latter" works: "I am sick of this subject."

In 1776, James Beattie waxed yet more violent against "this abominable tale." Granting probability to the first two parts, he continued:

But when he grounds his narrative upon a contradiction to nature; when he presents us with rational brutes, and irrational men; . . . not all his genius (and he there exerts it to the utmost) is able to reconcile us to so monstrous a fiction. . . . He wallows in nastiness and brutality; and the general run of his satire is downright defamation.

In a footnote, Beattie raises the question whether Swift believed "that religious ideas are natural to a reasonable being, and necessary to a moral one." Beattie has pious hopes, but clearly gives Swift no benefit of a sincere doubt, since the Houyhnhnms are presented

as patterns of moral virtue, as the greatest masters of reason, and withal as completely happy, without any religious ideas, or any views beyond the present life. . . .

Whereupon he accuses this Christian Divine of setting himself "deliberately to trample upon" human nature, quotes loosely and without acknowledgment Young's words about blasphemy, with which this study began, and arrives at the following conclusion:

³⁵ *Observations upon Lord Orrery's Remarks* . . . (London, 1754), pp. 161-72.

Here it would be well to interject a *caveat*. In the ensuing pages, among the hostile criticisms of the fourth "Voyage," many an author will be done grave injustice if his remarks on Part IV are accepted as representing his total attitude toward Swift. *That attitude may be generally fair, or sympathetic, or even tender*; but the appraisal of these complete viewpoints in the present monograph would be both cumbersome and confusing to the main issue.

³⁶ See also p. 220.

We need not be surprised if the same perverse habits of thinking which harden his heart, should also debase his judgment.³⁷

From this point on, it is apparent that only by hard spurring, or to use a more modern figure, only by winding the spring to the very snapping point, will a hostile critic be able to surpass the pioneers in violence, but we shall see. In 1781, James Harris phrased what is undoubtedly the classic statement regarding the identification of the two allegorical groups, framing it between two equally classic anathemas. The very typography is eloquent.³⁸

I esteem the last part of Swift's Gulliver (that I mean relative to his *Hoyhnms* [*sic*] and *Yahoos*) to be a worse Book to peruse, than those which we forbid, as the most flagitious and obscene.

One absurdity in this Author (a wretched Philosopher, though a great Wit) is well worth marking—in order to render *the Nature of Man odious*, and *the Nature of Beasts amiable*, he is compelled to give Human Characters to his Beasts, and Beastly Characters to his Men—so that we are to *admire* the Beasts, *not for being Beasts*, but *amiable Men*; and to *detest* the Men, *not for being Men*, but *detestable Beasts*.³⁹

Whoever has been reading this *unnatural* Filth, let him turn for a moment to a Spectator of Addison. . . .

IV

Although the words are literally true, it would be an error to accept Dr. Johnson's statement, that "the part which . . . gave most disgust must be the history of the Houyhnhnms," as a summary of confirmed eighteenth century opinion; for the fourth "Voyage" did not lack serious and able apologists. Deane Swift takes up the cudgels in 1755 to assert that man is more vile than "any BEAST, any YAHOO, any TYRANT." He indicates Second Peter ii (a chapter to give the Christian sentimentalists pause) as the groundwork of the satire, and appeals to many other scriptures to establish the animal nature of man (or worse). "The daily occurrences of this wretched world prove, illustrate, and confirm all the sarcasms of the Doctor." The portrait of humanity in the Yahoos is only too like, and the animadversions against it must be due either to "the infirmity of men's judgment" or to "some Yahoo depravity in their own nature." He admits the brutality and filthiness of the picture; but upon that account, he adds, it is "more likely to enforce the obli-

³⁷ *Essays on Poetry and Music as They Affect the Mind* (Edinburgh, 1778), pp. 42-44 (first published, 1776—DNB).

³⁸ *Philological Inquiries*. I quote the "New Edition," London, 1802, p. 544, note.

³⁹ Except for his inferences concerning Swift's purpose, Harris is paradoxically nearer the truth than he suspects. One is reminded of Jack's frantic attempts to avoid Peter and the result.

gation of religion and virtue upon the souls of men."⁴⁰ He takes great pains to show that Delany was wrong in supposing that Parts III and IV had been written when the satirist's genius was "verging towards the decline," i.e., "some years" after September 20, 1723, when Swift had written to Pope, "Non sum qualis eram." Contending for composition-dates before 1720, the biographer-cousin cites the letter (actual date, September 11, 1725) in which he says Swift had referred to the Yahoos as if Sheridan had read Part IV in MS. some time before the summer of 1725—"but God knows how long before that period." Delany is reminded that he himself had admitted the mental power of the *Drapier's Letters* (1724) and other works down to 1737.⁴¹ Thus, Deane Swift's heart was right toward the "Houyhnhnms," but his account of the relation of the Yahoos to men lacks finesse.

Also in 1755—John Hawkesworth expressed the same convictions as those just detailed regarding the state of Swift's faculties and the period of his employment upon *Gulliver*, but was inclined to account for the bitterness of the fourth "Voyage" on personal grounds to an unwarranted degree.⁴² Nevertheless, in the text of his edition, he wrote two sensible notes, the second of them sadly pertinent to war in our time.

Whoever is disgusted with this picture of a *yahoo*, would do well to reflect that it becomes his own in exact proportion as he deviates from virtue. . . . (Note on p. 227.)

With war, including every species of iniquity and every art of destruction, we become familiar, by degrees, under specious terms, which are seldom examined. . . . If when this and the preceding pages are read, we discover with astonishment, that when the same events have occurred in history we felt no emotion, and acquiesced in wars which we could not but know to have been commenced for such causes, and carried on by such means; let him not be censured for too much debasing his species, who has contributed to their felicity and preservation by stripping off the veil of custom and prejudice, and holding up in their native deformity the vices by which they become wretched, and the arts by which they are destroyed. (Note on p. 234.)

Three decades later, Thomas Sheridan, who, as we have seen,⁴³ first summed up the causal connection between the Yahoos and Swift's stigma of misanthropy, though now and then he forces his case and cannot be strictly followed, constructed one of the best defenses ever thrown up

⁴⁰ *An Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1755), pp. 218-25.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 275-81. See also above, p. 207.

⁴² *The Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D. . . . with Some Account of the Author's Life, and Notes . . .* (London, 1755), I, 21-22.

⁴³ *Supra*, p. 207.

around the fourth "Voyage." He made a false start, by saying too baldly that in *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift "gave vent to that spleen, which was in a continual state of irritation from the objects that surrounded him."⁴⁴ Further on, however, he renews the reference to the powers of mind displayed in the *Drapier's Letters*, and, still further, reasserts that Swift's faculties were not at all impaired.⁴⁵

The whole apologue of the Houyhnhnms and the Yahoos, far from being intended as a debasement of human nature, if rightly understood, is evidently designed to shew in what the true dignity and perfection of man's nature consists, and to point out the way by which it may be attained.

In his last book, he meant to exhibit two new portraits; one, of pure unmixed vice; the other of perfect unadulterated virtue. . . . He clothes the one with the body of a man; the other, with that of a horse. Between these two he divides the qualities of the human mind, taking away the rational soul from the Yahoos and transferring it to the Houyhnhnms. . . . The rational soul in the Houyhnhnms, acts unerringly by instinct. . . . The Yahoo . . . has no resemblance to man. . . . It has not a ray of reason, it has no speech, and it goes like other quadrupeds, upon all four. . . .

At the same time it was also necessary, to give this creature the human form, in order to bring the lesson home to man; . . . for in the form of any other creature, he would not think himself at all concerned in it. . . . The whole of human nature has no concern in what is related of this creature. . . .

Is it not very extraordinary that mankind in general should so readily acknowledge their resemblance to the Yahoo, whose similitude consists only in the make of its body, and the evil dispositions of its mind; and that they should see no resemblance to themselves, in a creature possessed of their chief characteristic marks, reason and speech, and endowed with every virtue, with every noble quality, which distinguish and elevate the human above the brute species? . . . Shall they give [Swift] no credit for the exalted view in which he has placed the nobler part of our nature? . . .⁴⁶

Sheridan quotes Young's exclamation to confute it:

How can he be said to make a monstrous representation of the human face divine, who first supposes the divine part to be withdrawn, which entitles it to that appellation, and substitutes in its place the mind of a brute?⁴⁷

His peroration stirs Sheridan to a vigor of style unusual with the aging orthoepist:

But if there are still any who will persist in finding out their own resemblance in the Yahoos, in the name of God, if the cap fits, let them wear it and rail on.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *The Life of the Reverend Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1784), p. 228.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 239 and 274.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 503-9, *passim*.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 513; for Young, see p. 203.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 520.

George Monck Berkeley followed a humanistic line of thought:

"How," exclaim the enemies of Swift, "could a man that possessed one spark of benevolence paint human nature in such colours?" They then proceed to declaim for an hour on the *dignity of human nature*. . . .

The only meaning I can affix to the term is, that it alludes to a certain portion of dignity which is *innate* in us, and consequently *inseparable* from our nature. . . .

The writers on this subject seem to have involved themselves in an error by not distinguishing between the terms *natural* and *acquired*. That human nature is by the practice of virtue, capable of acquiring great dignity, is what I most readily admit; but the dignity of an individual, thus acquired by himself, cannot be said to be the dignity of the species. But . . . the History of the Yahoos can by no means be considered as offering any insult to our nature. It only paints mankind in the state to which habits of vice must necessarily sink them.⁴⁹

Just before the close of the century, comes a passage from William Godwin, quoted by Professor Quintana, to whose attention it had been called by Professor Alan McKillop. Though it applies the fable to actual men too directly, Godwin's crucial sentence implies a warm defense:

It has been doubted whether, under the name of Houyhnhnms and Yahoos, Swift has done any thing more than exhibit two different descriptions of men, in their highest improvement and lowest degradation; and it has been affirmed that no book breathes more strongly a generous indignation against vice, and an ardent love of every thing that is excellent and honourable to the human heart.⁵⁰

After these, the deluge of the years 1800-1914.

V

Two works of the nineteenth century, because of their immense popularity, must be credited with the fixation of a conventionally orthodox view of the fourth "Voyage." The first is Sir Walter Scott's biography and edition of Swift (1814).⁵¹ As a whole, Scott held that *Gulliver* offered "maxims of deep and bitter misanthropy to neglected age and disappointed ambition";⁵² and he lent his support to the already official view that a "soured and disgusted state of Swift's mind, . . . even then, influenced by the first impressions of . . . incipient mental disease,"⁵³ was the poisoned source from which the fourth part sprang. He noted that the obscene poems are

⁴⁹ *Literary Relics containing Original Letters. . . . To which is prefixed an Inquiry into the Life of Dean Swift* (London, 1789), pp. xxiii, xxiv.

⁵⁰ *The Enquirer. Reflections on Education, Manners, and Literature* (Philadelphia, 1797), p. 107 (quoted from Quintana, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-6).

⁵¹ *The Works of Jonathan Swift* (Edinburgh, 1814), 19 vols.

⁵² *Ibid.*, I, 306.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, II, 10.

to be ranked with the description of the Yahoos, as the marks of an incipient disorder of the mind, which induced the author to dwell upon degrading and disgusting subjects, from which all men, in possession of healthful taste and sound faculties, turn with abhorrence.⁵⁴

Scott struggled manfully to keep his balance but could not stem the tide of his own sense of outrage.

The "Voyage to the Land of the Houyhnhnms" [which Scott calls "a diatribe against human nature"] is a composition an editor must ever consider with pain.⁵⁵

Conceding gracefully that Swift's was a "general misanthropy which never prevented a single deed of individual benevolence," he proceeded:

Such apologies are personal to the author, but there are also excuses for the work. The picture of the Yahoos . . . was never designed as a representation of mankind in the state to which religion and even the lights of nature encourage men to aspire, but of that to which our species is degraded by the wilful subservience of mental qualities to animal instincts. In this view, the more coarse and disgusting the picture, the more impressive the moral.

It cannot, however, be denied, that even a moral purpose will not justify the nakedness with which Swift has sketched this horrible outline of mankind degraded to a bestial state.⁵⁶

And when Scott returned to the fourth "Voyage,"⁵⁷ his condemnation was unmitigated.

[It is], beyond contest, the basest and most unworthy part of the work. It holds mankind forth in a light too degrading for contemplation, and which, if admitted, would justify or palliate the worst vices, by exhibiting them as natural attributes, and rendering reformation from a state of such base depravity a task too desperate to be attempted.⁵⁸ As no good could possibly be attained by the exhibition of so loathsome a picture of humanity, as it may even tend to great evil by removing every motive for philanthropy, the publication has been justly considered as a stain upon the character of the ingenious author.

Forgetting what he had written in the first volume, Scott ended by making the identification of Yahoos and men complete:

⁵⁴ *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, I, 361.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 314.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 315.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 10.

⁵⁸ Compare this and Aitken's opinion (see p. 227) that the "Houyhnhnms" is a "counsel of despair" with two lines from the verses "On the Death of Dr. Swift," composed a lustrum after *Gulliver* came out. Their understatement is a "bite" in a vein the reverse of Gulliver's total disillusionment in the "Letter . . . to his Cousin Sympson": "And, it must be owned, that seven months were a sufficient time to correct every vice and folly to which the *Yahoos* are subject; if their natures had been capable of the least disposition to virtue and wisdom. . . ." About 50% would be the proper rate of discount for both passages. The lines (ed. Browning, I, 263, ll. 24-25):

His satire points at no defect
But what all mortals may correct.

This last division comprehends humanity in every stage and variety . . . and holds it up to execration in all.⁵⁹

In 1851, Thackeray delivered his English Humourists series,⁶⁰ the "Swift" being the inaugural. Whereas Scott is unfair, inconsistent, and withal sufficiently violent, Thackeray, when he comes to the "Houyhnhnms," is fanatically hysterical. Since gems like the following, among others equally gaudy, were in the unlucky MS., one cannot suppress the malicious wish that the spirit of Presto might have been hovering about Willis's Rooms before the lecture to observe the lecturer's agony of nervousness, as Fanny Kemble described it.⁶¹ How he would have enjoyed Thackeray's "Oh, Lord! I'm sick at my stomach with fright!" When Miss Kemble went to fetch the MS. to reassure him, could it have been Presto who blew it off the high reading desk?

For the humor and literary skill of *Gulliver*, Thackeray is all admiration, but

as for the moral, I think it horrible, shameful, unmanly, blasphemous; and giant and great as this Dean is, I say we should hoot him. Some of this audience mayn't have read the last part of *Gulliver*, and to such I would . . . say "Don't." . . . It is Yahoo language: a monster gibbering shrieks and gnashing imprecations against mankind—tearing down all shreds of modesty, past all sense of manliness and shame; filthy in word, filthy in thought, furious, raging obscene. . . .

The meaning of this "dreadful allegory" is

that man is utterly wicked, desperate, and imbecile, and his passions are so monstrous, and his boasted powers so mean, that he is and deserves to be the slave of brutes, and ignorance is better than his vaunted reason. What had this man done? what secret remorse was rankling at his heart? what fever was boiling in him, that he should see all the world bloodshot?

Strange are the ironies of criticism—that two men normally so astute as Scott and Thackeray, two men by no means poorly endowed in the sense of humor, one of whom had indeed already proved himself inimitably ironical, caustic, nay, even sarcastic, toward the bagatelles of *Vanity Fair*, should so lamentably misread the greatest of ironists and tumble head over heels into his trap of vexation. But after his troubles with a Pope, Swift would hardly be surprised. The phenomenon would merely stand as one more classic instance to demonstrate what becomes of human intelligence when a man is "smitten with *pride*,"

⁵⁹ *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, II, 11.

⁶⁰ Date of publication, 1853. Quotations are from the *Everyman's Library* edition, pp. 34–35.

⁶¹ The anecdote is reprinted in Walter Jerrold's introduction to the *Everyman* text (p. viii). Thackeray survived his ordeal.

or, better, when his reason is subtly undermined by sentimental ethics (of which Thackeray now and then showed a properly Victorian tinge).

Hereafter, it would have been quixotic to hope that the average nineteenth century reader could withstand the specious plausibility of a Scott and the irresistible rhythms and lurid imagery of a Thackeray. *Rarely*—and rather faintly then with one or two exceptions—for a century after Scott to the year, does one catch hints that a different way of looking at the fourth “Voyage” is possible.

Francis Jeffrey, reviewing Scott, informs us, *de haut en bas*, that his final impression of Part IV is not so much one of disgust at the representation of humanity, as one of dullness.⁶² Not that his own previous analysis had been apathetic, however.

[Swift] rails indeed at the whole human race, as wretches with whom he thinks it an indignity to share a common nature, [and] was, without exception, the greatest and most efficient *libeller* that ever exercised the trade.⁶³

Jeffrey lists eleven qualifications of a libeller, with all of which Swift was eminently endowed, including notably

a clear head—a cold heart—a vindictive temper—no admiration of noble qualities—no sympathy with suffering—not much conscience— . . . a thorough knowledge of the baser parts of human nature. . . .

Disregarding all the laws of polished hostility, he uses, at one and the same moment, his sword and his poisoned dagger—his hands, and his teeth, and his envenomed breath—and does not even scruple, upon occasion, to imitate his own yahoos, by discharging on his unhappy victims a shower of filth.⁶⁴

As a spectacle, all this *at one and the same moment* must have been downright volcanic.

One of the most strangely inconsistent criticisms in the record is William Monck Mason's. Part IV “exhibits mankind in a light too degraded for contemplation [cf. Scott], the satire is too much exaggerated to be styled a resemblance”; Mason also accepts Delany's adverse comments on the Houyhnhnms. Yet he opposes Scott's condemnation vigorously, quotes Warburton, Young, Beattie, and Harris to their discredit, and takes his stand with Sheridan. Of *Gulliver* entire, he says, “To amuse was not its sole object; to instruct the whole race of mankind, was the benevolent purpose of its philanthropic author”; and of Part IV, “This satire upon human corruptions, has been unjustly represented to be a libel on human nature.”⁶⁵

⁶² *Edinburgh Review*, XXVII (1816), 48.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 44–45.

⁶⁵ *The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick* (Dublin, 1819), pp. 356–60.

In the ninth of a course of lectures,⁶⁶ Coleridge is reported to have said,

[In the voyage to the Houyhnhnms, Swift] represents the disgusting spectacle of man with the understanding only, without the reason or the moral feeling, and in his horse he gives the misanthropic ideal of man—that is, a being virtuous from rule and duty, but untouched by the principle of love.

Coleridge believes that the defect in Part IV is not its misanthropy, but its inconsistency. "In short, critics in general complain of the Yahoos; I complain of the Houyhnhnms."⁶⁷ But De Quincey holds with the anti-Yahoo party, and makes a personal application: Swift's "own yahoo is not a more abominable one-sided degradation of humanity, than is he himself," i.e., in meanness and incapacity for dealing with the grandeurs of the human spirit.⁶⁸

Opinions from the introductions to three influential popular editions of *Gulliver* in the mid-century may well be grouped. In the biography prefixed to the Aldine edition of 1833, the Rev. John Mitford ranked the "Houyhnhnms" as inferior to the other voyages; wrote with mincing, balanced solemnity of its bitter misanthropy, its fiendish mockery, its hideousness and grossness, its wideness in "temper and feeling from the spirit of Christianity"; and finished by echoing Scott:

The representation of beings so thoroughly brutalized and degraded, by exciting disgust and horror, destroys the effect which it was intended to produce.⁶⁹

Roscoe, in 1849, seeks to be more judicious by recognizing that the Yahoos do not depict mankind but "expose their corruption and degeneracy"; but he admits that "the picture is overcharged and the condemnation of too sweeping and unsparing a character."⁷⁰ The Tauchnitz editor, in 1844, had held substantially the same opinion as Roscoe, or a slightly more hostile one.⁷¹

Of the two important Continental literary historians of England, Taine and Hettner, the former merely says laconically that Swift "must

⁶⁶ *Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (New York, 1884), IV, 280. The lecture was delivered February 24, 1818.

⁶⁷ Quoted in *The Athenaeum*, XI (August 15, 1896), 224.

⁶⁸ A review of Schlosser's *Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, first printed in *Tait's Magazine*, September and October, 1847; see *The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey*, ed. Masson, XI, pp. 14–15.

⁶⁹ Pp. lxxxi–lxxxii.

⁷⁰ I, lxxv. (*DNB* gives Roscoe's date; the title page was missing from the copy I used.)

⁷¹ Pp. 29–30.

discover the Yahoo in man," and yet "he gives preference to the Yahoos over men."⁷² Hettner summarizes thus:

Die Menschen sind ein widerwartiges Affengeschlecht, und jedes andere Thier ist edler und weiser als der Mensch. . . .⁷³

Back in England, Edmund Gosse, in his *History of Eighteenth Century Literature* (1889),⁷⁴ gives loose rein to his "will to believe" and plunges without check through the chronological underbrush. "It is difficult not to believe" that Part IV was written during Stella's last illness. And having referred to Swift's flight in summer, 1726, from the horror of her approaching end, Gosse quotes Delany to the effect that "from the time of her death, and probably *a few months earlier*," Swift's character and temper altered. His vertigo and misanthropy became chronic, "and it seems probable that the first literary expression of his rage and despair was the awful satire of the Yahoos"—also ascribed to "the horrible *satisfaction* of disease." The brain seemed "not wholly under control in the very machinery" of Part IV. Men and Yahoos are of course identical. One can imagine what must have been Victoria's approval (at age 70) of Gosse's concluding words, if she ever saw them:

Of the horrible foulness of this satire on the Yahoos enough will have been said when it is admitted that it banishes from decent households a fourth part of one of the most brilliant and delightful of English books.

Before turning to the late Victorian biographers, a paragraph from Arthur Lloyd Windsor may be offered as a choice tidbit:

The corruption of his fellow-men is the meat and drink of [Swift's] appetite. He seems to feed on the unsound parts—on the offal of their character—with the same gusto that a ghoul is said to feed on the remains of the charnel house, that a gourmand feeds on the disease that composes his *pâté de fois gras*.⁷⁵

Quintana justly calls attention to the Victorian biographers as "preparing the way for dispassionate and independent study of the satire of *Gulliver's Travels*."⁷⁶ Yet upon perusal, their critiques of the fourth "Voyage," *taken by themselves*, do not in the least "disarrange the critical patterns inherited from the eighteenth century." In fact, in some of them, one sees the trend toward an even more consciously and rigidly

⁷² Quoted from the English translation of 1873 (II, 146). The *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* came out in 1863 ff.

⁷³ *Geschichte der englische Literatur*, II, 341 (fourth edition, 1881; the first came out in 1856).

⁷⁴ Pp. 161–62. Italics below are mine.

⁷⁵ *Ethica* (1860), p. 267.

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

literalistic attitude toward the allegory which carries well over into the twentieth century.

Henry Craik strives for greater subtlety than the average expositions achieve, but he comes short of a straightforward and consistent point of view. In accounting for the oppressive "disgust and gloom" in the closing books, he draws up a full register of the conventionally-accepted personal factors: uncongenial surroundings, a spirit envenomed by keen struggle, the impending loss of Stella, and the shadow of a clouded intellect.⁷⁷ Concerning Part IV, he writes:⁷⁸

As the Yahoo typifies more closely humanity, so the construction of the allegory fails, but also the directness of the satire is increased. . . . So in the Yahoos we see a counterpart of human nature, free only from the dangerous ingredient of "a little reason." . . . Its central feature is contrast between the Houyhnhnm, representing, in himself, and as the negation of all human attributes, the type of Stoical and impassive dignity; and the Yahoo, as the picture of degradation, the points of distinction between whom and human beings drop away, leaving humanity without one shred of defense for its own self-respect.

Craik considers the fable of the horse rulers "clumsy," and raises the shrewd question whether the picture of the Houyhnhnms is not simply another side of the satire on humanity,

whose best ideals could be attained only by eliminating all that made life worth living, but whose passions and emotions, when ripened to full maturity, ended only in the loathsomeness of the Yahoo.

Leslie Stephen's *Swift* is generally a moderate book, but he assigns "this ghastly caricature," which is to him "lamentable and painful," to a time when Swift's "wrath against mankind and his own fate" was at its peak.⁷⁹ Churton Collins's opinions appeared first in the *Quarterly Review* (1883).⁸⁰

Take the Yahoos. Nothing can be plainer than that these odious and repulsive creatures were designed to be types, not of man, as man when brutalized and degenerate may become, but of man as man is naturally constituted.

Whereupon Collins closely paraphrases Harris's formula (see p. 216), whether he is aware of it or not, and adds this rebuke:

In the brutal passages ridiculing the construction of the human body, the satire

⁷⁷ *Swift: Selections from his Works*, ed. with Life, etc. (Oxford, 1893), p. 159.

⁷⁸ *Life of Jonathan Swift*, second edition (London, 1894), II, 123-26, *passim*. Since the first edition of Craik came out in 1882, presumably he should stand here, though I have been unable to check the passage in that edition.

⁷⁹ *Swift* (London, 1882, *English Men of Letters*), pp. 180-81.

⁸⁰ I quote them from his *Jonathan Swift: a Biographical and Critical Study* (London, 1893), pp. 209-14, *passim*.

glances from the creature to the Creator, and is in truth as impious as it is absurd. . . .

It is remarkable that even Arbuthnot, though he objected to Laputa, expressed no dissatisfaction with the "Voyage to the Houyhnhnms."⁸¹

Gerald P. Moriarty, who holds the "Houyhnhnms" unfit for general reading, is equally literal:

In the fourth part of the work, where the horses, Houyhnhnms, are described as rulers, while man, the Yahoo, is in the condition of a beast, . . . the elemental instincts of the human being are now shown to be abominable to the very core. . . .

It is not so much a satire at all as a universal denunciation. It is Timon hurling out curses against the world.⁸²

The melancholy which lay behind Swift's "intense misanthropy" W. E. H. Lecky describes as "essentially constitutional, and mainly due to a physical malady which had long acted on his brain." Moreover, though Lecky does not tamper with the actual chronology, he creates a false emphasis by placing the following passage *after* his poignant narrative of Stella's death.⁸³

We find, above all, his profound disenchantment with human life and his deep-seated contempt for mankind in his picture of the Yahoos. . . . It was his deliberate opinion that man is hopelessly corrupt, that the evil preponderates over the good, and that life itself is a curse. No one who really understands Swift will question the reality and the intensity of this misanthropy. . . .⁸⁴

Yet Lecky had quoted from Pope's letter to Orrery:

His humanity, his charity, his condescension, his candour, are equal to his wit, and require as good and true a taste to be equally valued.⁸⁵

It is amusing that under such a title as "Allegory in Spenser, Bunyan, and Swift," Herbert Elspeth Greene would hardly touch the "Voy-

⁸¹ How prone Dr. Arbuthnot would be to object to the "Houyhnhnms" may be seen in Pope's letter to Swift, October 15, 1725 (Ball, III, 281), and elsewhere.

John Dennis, whose *Age of Pope* came out the year after Collins's volume, finds in Part IV "malignant contempt for human nature," and "a diseased imagination"; he is moved to "disgust and indignation."

⁸² *Dean Swift and his Writings* (London, 1893), pp. 232-33 and 247. The allusion to Timon is curious in the light of Swift's phrase in the letter of September 29, 1725: "Upon this great foundation of misanthropy, though *not in Timon's manner*, the whole building of my 'Travels' is erected."

⁸³ Similarly Mrs. Oliphant, "glad to have no space to dwell upon" the fourth "Voyage," had distorted the medium through which it would be viewed, by indulging a wish-fancy for a moment: "One would like to have any ground for believing that the Houyhnhnms and the rest came into being after Stella's death; but this was not so." *Historical Characters of the Reign of Queen Anne* (New York, 1894), p. 277.

⁸⁴ "Biographical Introduction," *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, ed. Temple Scott (London, 1897), I, lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi.

age to the Houyhnhnms": "Nothing need be said except that it insults and degrades the whole human race."⁸⁶

Concerning Yahoos and Houyhnhnms, G. A. Aitken wrote in 1896:

Swift attributes the degradation found in some men to the whole human race, with the result that he presents only a gross caricature. . . .

It is difficult to believe that, as some have said, the Houyhnhnm represents Swift's ideal of morality. Houyhnhnm and Yahoo are alike imperfect, and Swift falsely assumes that natural affections are opposed to reason, instead of showing how the one should be influenced by the other. It is a counsel of despair.⁸⁷

Seventeen years afterward, in his chapter on Swift in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (1913), Aitken listed about the same personal factors as Craik, as the only excuse which can be alleged for the writing of the last part. The paragraph ends:

But, in the attacks on the Yahoos, consistency is dropped; the Houyhnhnms are often prejudiced and unreasonable, and everything gives way to savage denunciation of mankind. It is only a cynic or a misanthrope who will find anything convincing in Swift's views.⁸⁸

At the turn of the century, Vida Scudder sees in "the placid horses" only beasts after all—"beasts with the virtues of beasts, which consist chiefly in freedom from human vices"—and in the Yahoos "all the elements which Swift believed to be the component factors of human nature."⁸⁹ The queer but entertaining confusion in Lafcadio Hearn's *History of English Literature* must to some extent be due to the Japanese schoolboys who took down the lectures⁹⁰ from which the work was in part composed. "The worst pages" of *Gulliver* were written, among other circumstances, in the hour of *black remorse over the death of two women!*

The narrative is an attempt to prove that men are much inferior, morally as well as physically, to beasts, and that a horse is in every way a nobler creature than a man. . . .

To Herbert Paul, Swift is

the only great writer who did actually hate his fellow men. . . . In the last part, he is like the demoniac raging among the tombs.⁹¹

Two types of writing by critics who often seem to have only a routine familiarity with the works they discuss, unfortunately exert overwhelming influence over the opinions of the average college student and the general reader: textbooks (compendious literary histories and anthologies) and encyclopaedias. Samples from these are enlightening.

⁸⁶ *PMLA*, IV (1889), 167. ⁸⁷ Temple Classics edition of *Gulliver*, pp. 395-97.

⁸⁸ IX, 117.

⁸⁹ *Social Ideals in English Letters* (Boston, 1898), pp. 111-12.

⁹⁰ Delivered, 1901-1903. The *History* came out in 1927. Part IV is discussed on pp. 314-15 of Vol. I.

⁹¹ *Men and Letters* (London, 1901), p. 271.

(1) Moody and Lovett:⁹²

Finally . . . Gulliver makes his fourth journey, to the land of the Houyhnhnms, where horses are the self-conscious rulers and masters, and where the human animal is in a state of servitude and degradation. . . . The fiercest satire is in the picture of the Yahoo, the human beast, in which the worst of man is once for all told.

(2) William Crawshaw:⁹³

It is with an almost demoniac laughter that Swift thus heaps scorn and contempt on the race to which he belongs. It is the terrible sarcasm of a tremendous genius made mad by his own pride and rage and disappointment.⁹⁴

(3) Raymond M. Alden:⁹⁵

In the fourth part he represents humanity as infinitely contemptible from the standpoint of a commonwealth of horses (human beings appearing in the loathsome form of "Yahoos").⁹⁶

(4) *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth edition (1887), article "Swift," by Richard Garnett:

Human nature indignantly rejects her portrait in the Yahoo as a gross libel. . . . An intelligence from a superior sphere . . . might actually have obtained a fair idea of average humanity by a preliminary call at Lilliputia or Brobdingnag, but not from a visit to the Yahoos.⁹⁷

As a penultimate example of the "fine writing" to which a critic may attain when he has thrice forced his imagination to make the tour of

⁹² *A History of English Literature* (New York, 1902). The quotation is on p. 220 of the 1926 reprint.

⁹³ *The Making of English Literature* (Boston, 1909), p. 205.

⁹⁴ Compare from the period subsequent to 1914: "Here horses rule, and men are the stupid, brutal beasts of burden. These men—'Yahoos,' etc. When the horses, the wise and decent Houyhnhnms, etc. [Swift] had become one-sided, morbid, mentally as well as physically unhealthy. . . . A satirist may caricature, but he must not falsify. We know that our fellow-Yahoos are not so gross and so unrelievedly vile as Swift represents them. . . . But there are few books more profitable to read" (Broadus, *The Story of English Literature*, New York, 1931, pp. 322-24).

Note also: "You must . . . change places with a horse and view your disgusting kind as Houyhnhnms look upon Yahoos" (Osgood, *The Voice of England*, New York, 1935, p. 296).

⁹⁵ *Readings in English Prose of the Eighteenth Century* (Boston, 1911), p. 94.

⁹⁶ In three eighteenth century anthologies of the 1930's (two of which, significantly, represent *Gulliver* by Parts I and IV, the third, by Part IV alone—in contrast with the earlier tendency to use I and II, or I alone), it is instructive to compare the poise and deftness of the introduction to the fourth "Voyage" authorized by Bredvold, Root, and Sherburn, with this scanty and misleading sentence by Cecil A. Moore: "Though not the first to represent man as inferior to the other animals, Swift developed the thesis more fully and insultingly than any of his predecessors"; and with Shepherd and Wood's intelligent summary of the animal allegory, impaired by oversimplification of the connection between Swift and the Captain. For similarly inadequate sign-posts in the more recent *general* English anthologies, see the textbooks of Snyder and Martin; Bushnell, Fulcher, and Taylor; Clark, Gates, and Leisy; Osgood and Herriek. Woods, Watt, and Anderson's sketch, though detecting "signs of unwholesome mentality," does better by Part IV as such.

⁹⁷ When the article was cut to the bone for the fourteenth edition (1929), the above sentence was omitted. It had been retained in the eleventh (1911). The sentences on Part IV in the *Encyclopedia Americana* (XIII, 544) are literal in phrasing but mild.

his invention and thrice it has returned *full*—this, from Prosser Hall Frye:

It was from this hideous festering of distempered passions [Swift's letter to Pope, September 29, 1725] that distilled drop by drop the slow venom, with whose accumulated virus he was wont from time to time to slaver this blistering "carcase of humanity." . . .

As a systematic exposure of misanthropy, *Gulliver's Travels* has never been equalled. It is not only scathing, it is thorough—it leaves nothing standing, not even the mind that levels. It is so absolutely and relentlessly destructive, that it ends by annihilating itself. . . .

In that final outburst of savagery, the "Voyage to the Houyhnhnms," all point, plan, and even sanity itself are overwhelmed in the fury of the paroxysm. It were well, then, to leave him here, baffled, indeed, and desperate, but not yet distracted, nor attempt to follow further into those darker labyrinths where his cynicism ends, like his own existence, in that most melancholy and depressing of all spectacles, the disgrace of reason.⁹⁸

Quintana dates the first round challenge of the conventional view of *Gulliver* from the year 1917. "Today," he writes, "the historical approach to Swift and his times has quite destroyed the violent emotions and prepossessions which formerly characterized so much of the criticism of *Gulliver's Travels*. . . ."⁹⁹ Well and good—for the initiated. But though, in anticipation of a census of the later criticism, it may be said that many sane and ingenious accounts of the fourth "Voyage," in whole or in part, have appeared since 1914, and that the numbers of offensive and defensive sallies in print are approaching equality, it would hardly be captious to remark that the aforementioned "violent emotions and prepossessions" have Antaeus powers of recovery despite the Herculean struggles of pure scholarship to exhaust them in the rarer element. Twenty years after Prosser Frye, Sidney Dark, not at all deterred by Matthew vii, 1-2, but growing bolder page by page, pursues the greatest of his Five Deans through this world and into the next and returns to announce Swift's final damnation as a *fait accompli*.¹⁰⁰

In its latter part at least, [*Gulliver* is] the most brutal, disgusting satire ever written. . . . Indeed, [Swift] disgusted his contemporaries as he has disgusted pos-

⁹⁸ *Literary Reviews and Criticisms* (New York, 1908), pp. 100-103.

⁹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

¹⁰⁰ It apparently amounts to this, but the expressions "bolder" and "to announce" may be ill chosen. The excerpts are quoted as worded, but they are rather far apart and do not (or do?—one cannot quite tell) stand forthrightly in their contexts. Mr. Dark's seemingly irresponsible method of using such language might be called *judicial equivocation*. In spite of all the wide spacing, indirection (?), and mitigation, the terms of judgment are summary: "utmost," "fundamentally," and "finally" are strong words. If Mr. Dark means literally what he says, there is no arguing with him—if he does not, the employment of such a *figure* as damnation by an obviously zealous Churchman and religious editor is inexcusable. These matters are wholly pertinent to the subject, for, on p. 145, Mr. Dark uses the Yahoo symbol to stand for the contempt he reprobates.

terity. Foul is the only adjective to be applied to part four. . . . Swift saw nothing but the evil and was at last convinced that his fellow-man was just a Yahoo. . . . It is not improbable that the splendid sinner admired for his audacity even by the virtuous on earth, may cut a pitiful figure on the Judgment Day. . . . The normal man properly regards contempt as the most horrible of all sins. . . . To despise is the utmost damnation. And Swift, disgruntled genius that he was, by his sheer eminence compels recognition of the fate that awaits him who despises his fellows. . . .

Fundamentally Swift was hampered and finally damned by the contempt in which he held his fellows.¹⁰¹

VI

To present the defenders of the "Houyhnhnms" from 1800 to 1914 is to risk anti-climax in the dénouement, but in all justice it must be done, if only in honor of the saving remnant. And the case is not so bad as Quintana suggests. At least five others, before Sir Charles Whibley,¹⁰² had challenged the conventional view of *Gulliver*, even in regard to Part IV, the crux of the matter—three of them pretty *roundly*. In the sixth of his *Lectures on the English Poets* (1818), Hazlitt ironically started in reverse, but suddenly dashed head-on against the positions Scott had recently consolidated. Swift, said he, has sifted the pretensions of human life

from the alloy of circumstances; he has . . . weighed it in a balance, and found it, for the most part, wanting and worthless—in substance and in shew. Nothing solid, nothing valuable is left in his system but virtue and wisdom. What a libel is this upon mankind! What a convincing proof of misanthropy! What presumption and what *malice prepense* to shew men what they are, and teach them what they ought to be! . . . I cannot see the harm, the misanthropy, the immoral and degrading tendency of this. . . . It is an attempt to tear off the mask of imposture from the world; and nothing but imposture has a right to complain of it. . . .

He endeavoured to escape from the persecution of realities into the regions of fancy, and invented his Lilliputians and Brobdingnagians, Yahoos, and Houyhnhnms, as a diversion to the more painful knowledge of the world around him: *they* only made him laugh, while men and women made him angry. . . .¹⁰³

After Hazlitt, there is a chronological gap in the roster of defenders, down to Henry Morley. The latter forced the allegory by constructing literal equations, but he was sanely sympathetic in the attitude which he expressed in at least three publications.

¹⁰¹ *Five Deans* (London, 1928), pp. 140–53, *passim*.

¹⁰² Whose opinion was first stated in his Leslie Stephen Lecture (published, Cambridge, 1917).

¹⁰³ *Collected Works*, ed. Waller and Glover (London, 1902), V, 111–12. Hazlitt's terms are not explicitly restricted to the fourth "Voyage," but they fit it best of all the four.

Keats heard this lecture and praised it warmly (in his letter to George and Tom, February 21, 1818).

[Swift gives] reason to the horse, . . . who often in this actual world, even today, seems, like the dog, to live a worthier life than his master. And in representing man . . . as sunk lower than the brutes, there was no lowness of purpose. It was in harmony with the rest of the piece, which had worked gradually to a close, like that of some great symphony, which gathers all its meaning and its force of soul into a last thundering alive with fire.¹⁰⁴

Cecil Headlam may soften the effect of Swift's ideas by too gentle a phrasing, but his heart and brain are sound.

Critics have been too ready to assume that Swift really regarded all his fellow-creatures as Yahoos and to charge him with misanthropy. The description of the Yahoos is not a mere libel. . . . It teaches a very definite and moral lesson—that the greatness of humanity lies in mind, mind that is set on righteousness. Without it we are as the beasts that perish. . . . Swift, using the point of his pen and not the feather, puts it that so man becomes more of a Yahoo and less of a Houyhnhnm. . . . The only proof of Swift's misanthropy is his desire to reform mankind by displaying their vices in the most hateful light. . . . His humor is too deep and genuine to admit of his being a misanthrope.¹⁰⁵

Sophie Shilleto Smith does not reach either consistency or high style. She is, however, a staunch advocate, and Paul Elmer More's disdainful condescension toward her in favor of Thackeray was hardly fair.

In the fourth book [Swift] depicts a nature wholly diseased and wholly corrupt. But, the question arises in our minds, is it human nature at all? . . .

Nor does he wish to so materially degrade human nature by drawing such a strong contrast between the race of man and beast to the great disadvantage of humanity.

She thinks Sheridan's defense overdrawn. In her own, two important points are combined for the first time in the criticism, one of them a fresh and subtle idea.

(1) We are tempted to believe that Swift meant what he said, and that he would prefer not to have any of the bitterness alleviated.

(2) He was jealous, too, for the honour of his race, and by that strange distortion of temperament, which made him earn the title of "inverted hypocrite" by caring nothing for his own reputation, he has carried the process into his treatment of human nature. . . . His heart, once overflowing with love of mankind now . . . recoils upon itself, and the greatest altruist known to history earns the title of misanthropist.¹⁰⁶

It seems almost prophetically symbolic of greater tough-mindedness to come, that in 1914, as the first World War was just beginning, R. D. O'Leary should not only set forth a favorable, in some respects even a one-sided, version of the allegory, but should be so bold as to ferret out

¹⁰⁴ *Gulliver's Travels and Other Works by Jonathan Swift* (London, n.d.), p. 20.

¹⁰⁵ *Selections from the British Satirists* (London, 1897), "Introductory Essay," p. 53.

¹⁰⁶ *Dean Swift* (London, 1910), pp. 227 and 234.

a sentimental weakness in the great satirist's practical compromise with the world. Describing Swift's ethical view as a dualism in which all the emphasis in presentation was on the side of evil (surely an exaggeration), O'Leary is reminded of Poor Tom by the Yahoo type:

"Thou art the thing itself," [Swift] seems to say, far more terribly than Lear, because he says it without excitement, and means literally what he says. . . . [The Houyhnhnms] are horses, but they are not animals; they are embodied rationality and virtue.¹⁰⁷

He accepts Swift's abstract formula, "I hate and detest that animal called man," but believes the words that follow, about loving "John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth," are only

a confession of that human weakness of intellect and will which causes a man to let himself be temporarily browbeaten out of what he believes to be the truth, when he stands in the presence of the plausible concrete fact that has somehow managed to get a hold on his sentimental nature.¹⁰⁸

Epilogue

In the very midst of the War, in 1916, Professor Saintsbury, looking about him and seeing human nature turned inside out, could not forbear a validation of Swift. The picture of the Yahoo cannot, he said, be considered false.

The Yahoo, man pure and simple, man as he is, has always not far from him; something of the Yahoo, it may almost be said, he has always actually latent in him.¹⁰⁹

The fortunes of the fourth "Voyage" of Gulliver, from 1914 to the present, when, once more, the wheel is come full circle, are fascinating to follow; but they demand a shift of scenery and a different technique of stage management from the only one which seemed practicable down to the break. Seven years ago, at the outset of this much-interrupted investigation, it seemed safe to remark that intelligent people were beginning to grasp more rationally, though still incompletely, what Swift is really driving at in Part IV. Rash as it would be now to forecast the state of the world so much as two years hence, one prediction should be sufficiently credible for Partridge's *Merlinus Liberatus*, current issue: If any men of good will and free intelligence survive the second cataclysm, the times will be ripe for a comprehension of the "Voyage to the Country of the Houyhnhnms" unparalleled since it first came mingled and mangled from Benjamin Motte's press.

¹⁰⁷ "Swift and Whitman as Exponents of Human Nature," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXIV (1914), 188-89.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁰⁹ *Peace of the Augustans* (London, 1916), pp. 24-25.

BISHOP HURD'S ASSOCIATION WITH THOMAS WARTON

EDWINE MONTAGUE

Wilson College

In the latest biography of Thomas Warton,¹ Bishop Hurd is not even mentioned among Warton's friends and literary acquaintances. No one has ever adequately investigated the relationship between Warton and Hurd: it has been generally dismissed with a statement concerning the strange similarity of the "romantic" opinions in Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* and Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queene*. In speaking of these works Miss Clarissa Rinaker denies any influence of Hurd on Warton:

It is perfectly evident however that the debt does not lie on that side. Hurd's *Letters* and the second edition of the *Observations* appeared in the same year, which would almost conclusively preclude any borrowings from the first for the second.²

Miss Rinaker further asserts in regard to Warton's originality:

His followers were, however, often credited with the originality of their master, and their work was apt to arouse stronger protest from the pseudo-classicists. When Hurd's very romantic *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* appeared, they were credited with having influenced Warton to greater tolerance of romance and chivalry. This unjust conclusion was derived no doubt from the tone of greater confidence that Hurd was able to assume. . . . In all this however he made no real departure from Warton, the difference being one of emphasis. . . .³

In a recent study on the influence of the *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* Mr. Audley L. Smith includes in his discussion Warton's *History of English Poetry*, but finds no other connection between Hurd and Warton.⁴ These opinions should now be revised in the light of nine letters⁵ from Thomas Warton to Hurd, which have been printed but have not been recognized for their significance. Warton's acknowledgments

¹ Rinaker, Clarissa, *Thomas Warton: A Biographical and Critical Study* (Univ. of Ill. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., vol. II, Feb., 1916), p. 169. ² *Ibid.*, p. 56, n. 84. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.

⁴ Smith, Audley, L., "Richard Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*," *ELH* (1939), VI, 58-81.

⁵ The letters are in the library at Hartlebury Castle, where the Rt. Rev. Arthur Perowne, Lord Bishop of Worcester, graciously permitted me to study. The dates are: Oct. 22, 1762; Dec. 25, 1763; Apr. 3, 1764; Feb. 21, 1765; Aug. 3, and Oct. 14, 1766; July 26, 1769; Jan. 17, 1772; Apr. 6, 1785. They have been printed in *The Bodleian Quarterly Record* (1931), VI, no. 72, 303 ff.

of Hurd's influence in these letters, the interest in early English literature revealed in Hurd's manuscript *Commonplace Book*, and the numerous parallels between their works, all point to Warton's indebtedness to Hurd.

Bishop Hurd belonged to a group of literary men who made a practice of exchanging advice and criticism on their own works as well as current publications. Among his correspondents were Thomas Gray, Thomas Balguy, Prebendary of Winchester Cathedral, William Mason, and William Warburton, all of whom were at least acquaintances of Warton. Likewise Warton's extensive correspondence shows that he exchanged literary news with his friends, and asked their help in collecting material for his books. It was a custom of all these friends to send complimentary copies of their works to each other. The exact date of Hurd's acquaintance with Thomas Warton is not known, but, as the subsequent discussion will show, it was apparently before 1759, and they seem to have been familiar with each other's works by 1754.

I

Although no borrowing from Hurd can be proved in Warton's early works, the first publications of both men demonstrate that there was a similarity in their critical standards, and that through this agreement in critical attitude they were naturally interested in each other's ideas. In the first edition of Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queene* (1754), there is a reference to Hurd's *Discourse Concerning Poetical Imitation* (1751). In his discussion of Spenser's sources Warton uses Hurd's own words and cites his rules for judging an imitation:

But where there are even the most apparent traces of likeness, how very seldom can it be affirm'd, with any truth, as a late very sagacious critic has amply prov'd, that an imitation was intended? And how few of the commentators above-mention'd are there, who do not (to use his own words) mistake RESEMBLANCES FOR THEFTS?⁶

In a footnote Warton acknowledges "A DISCOURSE ON POETICAL IMITATION, by Mr. Hurd."⁷ The first public recognition of Warton's works made by Hurd appears in *A Letter to Mr. Mason; On the Marks of Imitation* (1757), where Hurd, introducing an example of imitation, remarks,

The ingenious author of the *Observations on Spenser* (from which fine specimen

⁶ *Observations* (1754), pp. 180-1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, n. See Hurd, *A Discourse on Poetical Imitation*, in *Q. Horatii Flacci Epistolae ad Pisones, et Augustum* (3rd ed., 1757), II, 140, 175. Warton's note on p. 181 of the 1st ed. of *Observations* is included in the text in the 2nd ed., I, 135-6.

of his critical talents one is led to expect great things) directs us to another imitation of this sort.⁸

In two other illustrations of possible imitation Hurd acknowledges the "*Obs. on Spenser*."⁹

One significant characteristic of the early works of both Hurd and Warton is their use of the historical method of criticizing a literary work according to the circumstances of its origin, the author's personality, and his milieu. Hurd advocates judging the *Ars Poetica* by "investigating the order of the poet's own reflexions, and scrutinizing the peculiar state of the Roman stage";¹⁰ Warton employs the same approach in elucidating Spenser's individual genius: "In reading the works of an author who lived in a remote age, it is necessary, that we should look back upon the customs and manners which prevailed in his age."¹¹ A second early similarity between Warton and Hurd appears in their denial of rules when they conflict with the impression made on the feelings. Warton concludes that "tho' in the FAERIE QUEENE we are not satisfied as critics, yet we are transported as readers";¹² and Hurd asserts that "feeling or sentiment itself is not only the surest but the sole *ultimate* arbiter of works of genius."¹³ A third opinion which both Hurd and Warton express is a preference for imagination and invention over mere correctness and ingenuity. Hurd deplores the prevalent tendency toward "periphrases and general expression; the peculiar bane of every polished language,"¹⁴ and traces the history of criticism through the alternate supremacy of "commanding genius . . . sublimity of sentiment and strength of expression" on the one hand, and "exquisite art" on the other.¹⁵ Likewise Warton laments that richness of allegory and imaginative description declined so incredibly after Spenser that poets gave more consideration to the "manner of expressing a thought prettily" than to "that of conceiving one nobly."¹⁶

Since Hurd and Warton in their early works thus concurred in a number of distinctive opinions, it was natural that eventually they should exchange ideas in conversation and correspondence, and even borrow from each other's publications. In the second edition of the *Observations* (1762) Warton made numerous additions which strength-

⁸ *On the Marks of Imitation*, in *Q. Horatii Flacci* (1757), II, 46.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 31-2. See *Observations* (1754), pp. 79-80, 302-3.

¹⁰ *Q. Horatii Flacci Ars Poetica* (1749), p. v; see also *ibid.*, p. 118.

¹¹ *Observations* (1754), p. 217.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

¹³ *Epistola ad Augustum*, in *Q. Horatii Flacci* (1757), II, 89; see also *ibid.*, p. 96.

¹⁴ *Q. Horatii Flacci* (1749), p. 44; see also *Epistola ad Augustum* in *Q. Horatii Flacci* (1757), II, 55.

¹⁵ *Ars Poetica*, in *ibid.*, I, 240.

¹⁶ *Observations* (1754), pp. 236-7; see *ibid.* (1762), II, 111.

ened his reputation for non-conformity with eighteenth-century critical criteria. The revisions include comments revealing a more friendly attitude toward the Italian poets, a fourteen-page disquisition on Gothic architecture, discussions showing an increased knowledge of medieval romances, the Elizabethan period, and early English poetry, several notes on Milton and lines from the *Faerie Queene*, an attack on Scaliger's criticism of Homer and Apollonius, a recommendation of the historical method for criticizing Spenser, and a long insertion in the Postscript. The following investigation concerns those additions by Warton which were extraordinary in their departure from eighteenth-century neo-classicism, and which have been recognized as bringing Warton closer to the opinions expressed in the *Letters on Chivalry*. The general conclusion concerning these important additions was restated in March, 1939, by Mr. Audley L. Smith:

These alterations bring Warton's views more nearly in line with Hurd's, but the short time that elapsed between the appearance of Hurd's treatise and Warton's *Observations* would have precluded any extensive changes in the latter as a result of the former discourse.¹⁷

On the contrary, there is strong evidence that Warton, in his revision, borrowed from the *Letters on Chivalry*, as well as from Hurd's *Moral and Political Dialogues*.

In 1759 Hurd published six *Moral and Political Dialogues*, of which Dialogues III and IV were "On the Golden Age of Queen Elizabeth." These Dialogues present contrasting points of view toward the Elizabethan period in the enthusiastic defense of Dr. Arbuthnot and the Whiggish scoffing of Addison. In opposition to Addison, Arbuthnot draws attention to the superiorities of the Elizabethan manners and arts, which developed from the imaginative spirit prevalent in that period. Proof that Warton read this work is found in a letter of September 6, 1759, in which Hurd declares, "Mr. Warton and his Oxford friends are very indulgent to the Dialogues."¹⁸ Then on September 12 Warburton relays the news that Hurd's satirical notes to the *Dialogues*

have not been understood by any man I have conversed with, except Tom Warton, of Oxford: a man who, with the behaviour of a clown, has a good share within him of sound sense and learning. I judge from his account, that the *Dialogues* are well esteemed at Oxford.¹⁹

¹⁷ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹⁸ Kilvert, Francis, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev. Richard Hurd* (London, 1860), p. 77. The allusion is certainly to Thomas Warton because he was at Oxford, and because eighteenth-century writers called him "Mr." as distinguished from his brother, who was called "Dr." Warton.

¹⁹ *Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate to One of his Friends* (London, 1809), L. CXXXV, pp. 221-2.

The second edition of the *Observations* is marked by Warton's increased interest in and favor for the customs of the chivalric ages. It is therefore significant that Hurd makes Arbuthnot in *Dialogue III* dogmatically commend the social system under Queen Elizabeth, and particularly the civilizing influence of the feudal gallantry. In fact the following passages show that Warton must have had the *Moral and Political Dialogues* open before him as he prepared his second edition:

Hurd:

The TILTYARD . . . that *school of fortitude and honour* to our generous forefathers . . . [is compared to] the *Roman Circus*, or the *Olympic Barriers*. . . I think the *Gothic Tilts and Tournaments exceeded*, both in use and elegance, *even the Graecian gymnastics*. . . For, besides the *splendor of the shew*; the dexterity with which these exercises were performed; and the fancy that appeared in their *accoutrement, dresses, and devices*; the whole contest was *enobled with an air of gallantry that must have had a great effect in refining the manners of the combatants*. And yet this gallantry had no ill influence on morals. . . In short, I consider the *Tournay, as the best school of civility as well as heroism*. . . For it is certain, they had this effect. The youth, in general, were fired with the love of martial exercises. They were early formed to *habits of fatigue and enterprize*. And, together with this warlike spirit, the profession of chivalry obliged to every other virtue that is the ornament of *humanity*. *Affability, courtesy, generosity, veracity*, these were the qualifications most pretended to by the men of arms, in the days of pure and uncorrupted chivalry. . . No policy, even of an antient legislator, could have contrived a better expedient *to cultivate the manners and tame the spirits of a rude and ignorant people*. . . This is certain, that the *first essays of wit and poetry*, those harbingers of returning day to every species of good letters, were made in the bosom of chivalry, and amidst the *assemblies of noble dames, and courteous knights*.²⁰

Warton:

Chivalry is commonly looked upon as a barbarous sport, or extravagant amusement, of the dark ages. It had however no small influence on the manners, policies, and constitutions of antient times, and served many public and important purposes. It was the *school of fortitude, honour, and affability*. Its exercises, like the *grecian games*, *habituated the youth to fatigue and enterprise*, and inspired the noblest sentiments of heroism. It taught *gallantry and civility to a savage and ignorant people*, and *humanised the native ferocity of the northern nations*. It *conducted to refine the manners of the combatants*, by exciting an emulation in the *devices and accoutrements, the splendour and parade, of their tilts and tournaments*: while its magnificent festivals, thronged with *noble dames and courteous knights*, *produced the first efforts of wit and fancy*.²¹

²⁰ *Moral and Political Dialogues* (1759), pp. 105–12; my italics.

²¹ *Observations* (1762), II, 267.

It is clear that Warton adopts entirely Hurd's conception of chivalry as the school of fortitude and honor, and that the italicized words in the *Observations* have been copied from Hurd.

Another argument which Warton stresses in the second edition of the *Observations* is the reality of the chivalric manners as pictured in the *Faerie Queene* and the old romances. Although he had suggested in the first edition that Spenser was portraying the actual practices of chivalry,²² Warton strengthened this judgment in a paragraph added to the second edition by comparing Spenser's representation of manners with Homer's: "Spenser, in this respect, copied real manners, no less than Homer."²³ Warton reiterates this belief in an addition to the Postscript, where he remarks, concerning the romances,

They preserve many curious historical facts, and throw considerable light on the nature of the feudal system. They are the pictures of antient usages and customs; and represent the manners, genius, and character of our ancestors.²⁴

It seems probable that this defense was suggested by Hurd's *Dialogue III*, in which he observes that the old romance-writers naturally wished to immortalize the chivalric "trials of manhood": "It was but what *Pindar* and *Homer* himself, those old masters of romance, had done before them."²⁵ The tournaments, Hurd believes, were particularly appropriate for poetical description:

And I am even ready to believe that what we hear censured in their writings, as false, incredible, and fantastic, was frequently but a just copy of life, and that there was more of truth and reality in their representations, than we are apt to imagine.²⁶

In a footnote to this passage Hurd refers the reader, for an authentic account of "the *reality* of these representations," to Jean de la Curne de Sainte-Palaye's *Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie considérée comme un établissement politique et militaire* (1753). On the authority of this work Hurd concludes,

One sees then the origin of that furious gallantry which runs through the old romances. And so long as the *refinement and fanaticism*, which the writer speaks of, were kept in full vigour by the force of institution and the fashion of the times, the morals of these courteous knights might, for any thing I know, be as pure as their apologist represents them. At the same time it must be confessed that this discipline was of a nature very likely to relax itself under another state of things, and certainly to be misconstrued by those who should come to look upon these pictures of a *refined and spiritual passion*, as incredible and fantastick.²⁷

²² *Observations* (1754), pp. 13-14, 217. ²³ *Ibid.* (1762), II, 88. ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

²⁵ *Dialogues* (1759), p. 108. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 108-10. ²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10, n.

This statement of belief in the reality of the chivalric manners seems to have influenced Warton to make his remarks on this subject more emphatic.

Hurd's use of Sainte-Palaye's *Mémoires* is significant because it may have aroused Warton's interest in reading this treatise. The *Mémoires* were first published in volume XX of *L'Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle Lettres* in 1753. There is no reference to Sainte-Palaye's *Mémoires* in the first edition of the *Observations* (1754), but in four passages of the second edition Warton discusses or cites Sainte-Palaye's investigations, and once alludes to the *Mémoires de Littérature*, which is the alternate title for the *Histoire de l'Académie*.²⁸ In 1756 Joseph Warton recommends the *Mémoires de Littérature* to his brother's perusal,²⁹ but it seems that if they had discovered Sainte-Palaye's *Mémoires*, it would have been mentioned. Therefore Hurd may have been the one who in *Dialogue III* (1759) brought Sainte-Palaye to Thomas Warton's notice.³⁰ In the *History of English Poetry* Warton frequently refers to the *Mémoires* as one of his authorities on medieval traditions and customs, and compliments Sainte-Palaye as a "writer of great taste, talents, and industry" whose studies "have opened a new and extensive field of information concerning the manners, institutions and literature of the feudal ages."³¹

A third significant addition to the second edition of the *Observations* is a recommendation of the historical method for criticizing Ariosto and Spenser. In pointing out, "But it is absurd to think of judging either Ariosto or Spenser by precepts which they did not attend to,"³² Warton implies that they must be appraised by other standards. Since he cannot subordinate his respect for "that decorum which nature dictated, and which the example and the precept of antiquity had authorised,"³³ however, he does not carry out the historical principle which he advocates. The added passage, which was inserted in a section that remained otherwise virtually the same as in the first edition, therefore seems to have been merely an expression of agreement with Hurd's decisive criticism by different standards in the *Letters on Chivalry*: "Under this idea then

²⁸ *Observations* (1762), I, 55, 186-7, 216; II, 172, 41.

²⁹ See Wooll, John, *Biographical Memoirs of the Late Revd. Joseph Warton* (London, 1806), p. 243.

³⁰ The Percy-Warton letters show that Warton had a copy of Sainte-Palaye's *Mémoires* by 1761. It seems possible that Hurd's *Dialogue III* in 1759 inspired Warton to buy the separate edition of the *Mémoires* which was published in that year. In 1761 he planned to send a copy to Percy. (Dennis, Leah, "The Text of the Percy-Warton Letters," *PMLA* [Dec., 1931], XLVI, 1177-85.)

³¹ *History of English Poetry* (1774), I, 149.

³² *Observations* (1762), I, 15.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

of a Gothic, not a classical poem, the *Faery Queen* is to be read and criticized."³⁴

In another passage added to the Postscript Warton apologetically justifies his censure of Spenser's design. He declares that he has tested the structure of the poem by epic rules only "to demonstrate the inconveniencies and incongruities," but has allowed Spenser great license because of his peculiar genius and the taste of his times. "It is true," Warton comments, "that his romantic materials claim great liberties; but no materials exclude order and perspicuity."³⁵ The fact that Warton felt a need for justifying his remarks suggests that he might have been answering Hurd's denunciation of neo-classical Spenserian criticism in the *Letters on Chivalry*. In propounding Spenser's unity of design, as distinguished from the classical unity of action, Hurd asserts,

So that if you will say any thing against the poet's method, you must say that he should not have chosen this subject. But this objection arises from your classic ideas of Unity, which have no place here; and are in every view foreign to the purpose.³⁶

A fourth important change in the second edition of the *Observations* is the modification of Warton's attack on the Italian poets. Besides recommending the historical judgment of Ariosto, Warton apologizes for his strictures on the Italian poets in a paragraph added to the Postscript:

Let me add, that if I have treated some of the Italian poets, on certain occasions, with too little respect, I did not mean to depreciate their various incidental excellencies. I only suggested, that those excellencies, like some of Spenser's, would have appeared to greater advantage, had they been more judiciously disposed. I have blamed, indeed, the vicious excess of their fictions; yet I have found no fault in general, with their use of magical machinery.³⁷

This apology may have been inspired by Hurd's condemnation, in Letters IX and X of the *Letters on Chivalry*, of the French and "Frenchiefied" English critics who had judged Ariosto and Tasso by classical standards. For example, he observes that

the *Gierusalemme Liberata* made it's fortune amongst the French wits, who have constantly cried it up above the *Orlando furioso*, and principally for this reason, that Tasso was more classical in his fable, and more sparing in the wonders of

³⁴ *Letters on Chivalry* (1762), p. 56.

³⁵ *Observations* (1762), II, 268.

³⁶ *Letters on Chivalry* (1762), p. 65. Hurd and Warton also debate on the question of Prince Arthur's role in the *Faerie Queene*, and in a later edition Hurd names Warton, "SPENSER'S best critic," as combatant. (*Ibid.*, pp. 70, 73-4; *Observations* [1754], pp. 5-6; *Moral and Political Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry and Romance* [1765], III, 279.)

³⁷ *Observations* (1762), II, 269.

gothic fiction, than his Predecessor. . . . [Then] the exact, but cold Boileau happened to say something of the *clinquant* of Tasso; and the magic of this word, like the report of Astolfo's horn in Ariosto, overturned at once the solid and well built reputation of the Italian poetry.³⁸

Hurd praises the early Italian poets for the "enchanting sweetness of their tongue, the richness of their invention, the fire and elevation of their genius,"³⁹ and repeatedly proclaims the excellence of their Gothic enchantments. Warton did not accept completely this appreciation, but evidently responded in some degree to Hurd's enthusiasm. The general effect of Hurd's influence may appear in many slight changes by means of which Warton softened his disapprobation for the Italian poets. For example, after describing the popularity of the old romances at the time of the Renaissance, he alters his comment, "In the midst of this bad taste," to "Such was the prevailing taste."⁴⁰ Then in speaking of the *Orlando Furioso*, Warton at first declares that "The very idea of celebrating the MADNESS of an hero, carries with it somewhat extravagant and absurd." In the second edition this becomes,

Ariosto has his admirers, and most deservedly. Yet every classical, every reasonable critic must acknowledge, that the poet's conception in celebrating the MADNESS, or, in other words, describing the irrational acts, of a hero, implies extravagance and absurdity.⁴¹

The fifth opinion which Warton seems to have borrowed from Hurd is the praise of Gothic supernatural machinery. What Warton had originally considered unendurable improprieties, he describes thus in an addition to the Postscript:

Above all, such are their [the romances'] Terrible Graces of magic and enchantment, so magnificently marvellous are their fictions and fablings, that they contribute, in a wonderful degree, to rouse and invigorate all the powers of imagination: to store the fancy with those sublime and alarming images, which true poetry best delights to display.⁴²

The "superior solemnity" of the Gothic superstitions over the classical Hurd affirms in the *Letters on Chivalry*, where he constantly reiterates his belief that fancies are "more sublime, more terrible, more alarming, . . . in a word, . . . more poetical for being Gothic."⁴³ He observes,

The current popular tales of Elves and Fairies were even fitter to take the credulous mind, and charm it into a willing admiration of the *specious miracles*, which wayward fancy delights in, than those of the traditionary rabble of pagan divini-

³⁸ *Letters on Chivalry* (1762), pp. 78, 84-5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁴⁰ *Observations* (1754), p. 3; (1762), I, 3; see also *ibid.* (1754), pp. 3, 65; (1762), I, 4, 91.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* (1754), p. 11; (1762), I, 12-13.

⁴² *Ibid.* (1762), II, 268.

⁴³ *Letters on Chivalry* (1762), 54-5.

ties. And then, for the more solemn fancies of witchcraft and incantation, the horrors of the Gothic were above measure striking and terrible. The mummeries of the pagan priests were childish, but the Gothic Enchanters shook and alarmed all nature.⁴⁴

Although Warton does not use the exact words of the *Letters on Chivalry*, he certainly seems to have adopted Hurd's opinion in regard to Gothic magic.

Since Warton's indebtedness was not only to the *Moral and Political Dialogues*, but also apparently to the *Letters on Chivalry*, it is necessary to inquire whether he could have made additions for the second edition of the *Observations* after the publication of the *Letters on Chivalry* in May, 1762.⁴⁵ By December 27, 1761, the *Letters on Chivalry* were being printed,⁴⁶ and on May 15, 1762, Warburton, probably referring to the printed book, writes that he has seen "the whole of the Letters on Chivalry."⁴⁷ Soon after publication, which apparently occurred on May 27, Warton received a complimentary copy from Hurd, who declares in a letter of July 1, 1762, "I sent a copy of the Letters to Mr. T. Warton."⁴⁸ On October 22, 1762, in expressing his thanks for this gift, Warton intimates that he had received it a considerable time before:

I ought long ago to have thanked you for your most obliging & agreeable Present of the *Letters on Chivalry*; and I should have done it at the time, had I then exactly known how a letter would have found you. I have the vanity to say, that I was always of your Opinion on this Subject. But it was reserved for you to *display the System*, with that penetration, precision, & taste, which it requires. & which you, above all modern Critics, so peculiarly possess.⁴⁹

Although Warton planned his second edition immediately after the first in 1754 and worked on the revision periodically during the next few years,⁵⁰ he did not publish this new edition until August 19, 1762.⁵¹ Apparently the work was at the press for a year and two months, for on June 19, 1761, Warton writes to Bishop Percy concerning the second

⁴⁴ *Letters on Chivalry* (1762), pp. 48-9; see also *ibid.*, pp. 49, 1-3, 22-3, 45.

⁴⁵ Two editions of the *Letters on Chivalry* appeared, in May and August, before the 2nd edition of the *Observations* in August. In *The London Chronicle: or, Universal Evening Post*, the 1st edition of the *Letters on Chivalry* is advertised on May 25-27, the 2nd edition on Aug. 3-5. (XI, 503; XII, 123.)

⁴⁶ *Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate*, *op. cit.*, L. CLIV, p. 335; see also Kilvert, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴⁷ *Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate*, *op. cit.*, L. CLV, p. 336.

⁴⁸ Kilvert, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁴⁹ Hartlebury MS., *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-4.

⁵⁰ Wooll, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 231; Hill, G. B., *Boswell's Life of Johnson* (Oxford, 1887), I, 276.

⁵¹ Advertised in *The London Chronicle* on Aug. 19-21. (XII, 179; see also *ibid.*, p. 144.)

edition, "It is already in the Press."⁵² On November 23 Warton begs Percy to send any contributions immediately, "in a Post or two, as we go on very quick at Press, & I can insert them in the *last Section*."⁵³ By July 17, 1762, Warton is prepared to write, in reference to the *Observations*, "Spenser is just ready for publication."⁵⁴

Warton, however, always expected his works to be finished long before they actually were. His edition of Theocritus, he wrote to Jonathan Toup, would appear in 1768; but it was published in 1770.⁵⁵ Warton told Gray in a letter of April 20, 1770, that the first volume of the *History of English Poetry* was in the press; and then wrote to Percy on September 13, 1770, that the volume would go to press in October. The work was published in 1774.⁵⁶ Warton probably made changes in the second edition of the *Observations* therefore throughout 1761, and between May and August of 1762. The addition of five and a half pages to the Postscript, as well as the revision of short passages which would entail the re-setting of only a line or two of print, could easily have been accomplished in the last three months.⁵⁷ The only other addition which is indebted to the *Letters on Chivalry* is the paragraph on judging Spenser by the historical method. This passage, at the end of Section I, may have caused the reprinting of the last pages of that section, or may have been inserted earlier as a result of private communication between Warton and Hurd.

Besides using the *Letters on Chivalry* after publication, Warton might have seen this work in manuscript sometime during 1761, or perhaps earlier. In a footnote to the *Moral and Political Dialogues* (1759) Hurd announces the projected publication of a dissertation on the "*rise and genius* of chivalry."⁵⁸ It appears that this essay was supposed to be published with the *Dialogues* in 1759, since on August 14, 1758, Hurd writes to Mason that the two dialogues on the age of Elizabeth are at the press, that the last two dialogues are being polished, and that "The Volume is to conclude with a Dissertation of the *Rise and Genius of Chivalry*, which I explain very learnedly on Gothic, that is on Feudal

⁵² Dennis, *op. cit.*, p. 1171.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 1174.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1175.

⁵⁵ Rinaker, *op. cit.*, p. 76, n. 85.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁵⁷ That Warton did not use the *Letters on Chivalry* for his entire revision is suggested by the following note in the *Observations* of 1762: "The sensible and ingenious author of *Dialogues Moral and Political* [Lond. 1759. p. 114], has promised a dissertation on the *Rise and Genius* of Chivalry. Every reader of taste will be greatly disappointed, if he should not be so good as his word." (II, 172, n. *, Warton's brackets.)

⁵⁸ *Dialogues* (1759), p. 114, n. *.

principles."⁵⁹ A letter from Warburton proves that this essay was not merely projected, but actually finished by September 3, 1758; for he declares, "I am glad you have done the discourse on Chivalry; for this looks as if you was got forward with the Dialogues."⁶⁰ In the published *Letters on Chivalry* Hurd explains his purpose as, in part, to describe "the rise, progress, and genius of Gothic Chivalry," and again, "if I account to you for the rise and genius of chivalry, it is all you are to expect."⁶¹ It is evident, therefore, that some version of the *Letters on Chivalry* was ready for publication in 1758. By May 4, 1759, Hurd has decided not to publish the essay on chivalry: "I withdraw the *Dissertation on Chivalry*, and shall print a short Postscript in it's room against Hume's history of the Tudors."⁶² Hurd evidently continued to revise and polish the essay on chivalry until May 3, 1761, when he wrote to Mason, "I have just finish'd a trifle in 12 short Letters, which you & one or two more will perhaps take the trouble of reading, & which no body else will."⁶³ Since Hurd knew Warton well enough to send him a copy of the *Letters on Chivalry* after they were published, the two friends might have been sufficiently intimate for Hurd to show Warton his manuscript.

A further possibility is that Warton might have been influenced by Hurd before 1762 in correspondence and conversation, although the first letters between them which have been found were written in 1762, after the publication of the *Letters on Chivalry* and the second edition of the *Observations*. Hurd's letters from 1755 to 1762 show that he was reading the works of various Italian poets, which he considered "above every thing which is call'd poetry in the other modern languages," except perhaps English poetry.⁶⁴ In 1760, for instance, he declares of Tasso: "As an original painter of the world of magic & enchantments, he is inimitable."⁶⁵ Since Hurd was working on the Italian poets and the "rise and genius of chivalry" between 1755 and 1760, he might have suggested to Warton at this early date the use of the historical method for justifying his delight in Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser. It has been

⁵⁹ Hartlebury MS., extract from the Hurd-Mason Correspondence, made by Hurd's nephew when many of the letters were burned according to Hurd's will.

⁶⁰ *Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate*, *op. cit.*, L. CXX, p. 266.

⁶¹ *Letters on Chivalry* (1762), pp. 4, 25.

⁶² Hartlebury MS., extract from the Hurd-Mason Correspondence, made by Hurd's nephew. The reason for this substitution probably was that Hume's recently published history disagreed with Hurd's theories in the last two dialogues, *On the Constitution of the English Government*.

⁶³ Whibley, Leonard, *The Correspondence of Richard Hurd & William Mason* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 56.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

shown that Warton was familiar with Hurd's early works by 1754, and that they were acquainted by 1759:⁶⁶ it is possible, therefore, that the two were corresponding as early as this, for they could have been introduced by Warburton.⁶⁷

It is evident that in the second edition of the *Observations* Warton borrowed from Hurd's *Moral and Political Dialogues* and from the *Letters on Chivalry*, either in manuscript or published form; and he may also have been influenced by correspondence with Hurd between 1755 and 1762. The *Critical Review* in 1763 links Hurd and Warton as influential advocates of historical criticism, and indicates that their relationship in their judgment of Spenser was apparent to their contemporaries. The reviewer compliments Hurd for championing "the allegorical poets, and in particular the Italians"; and recommends his "judicious performance, which, we flatter ourselves, has made some alteration in the sentiments of the author at present under consideration [Warton]."⁶⁸

II

In the library at Hartlebury Castle there is a copy of the second edition of the *Observations* which contains the inscription, "From the Author," in Warton's handwriting.⁶⁹ On October 14, 1762, Hurd wrote to thank Warton for the "very elegant present," and observed that "the many and curious improvements in this Edition make it incomparably the best piece of Criticism on Spenser, which the Public has yet seen."⁷⁰ Then he urges Warton to start on the enterprise of writing a *History of English Poetry*:

You have indeed taken the only way to penetrate the mysteries of Spenser's poetry, which is by investigating the manners & usages of Chivalry & Romance; the fountains, from which his characteristic excellencies are derived. And I will not despair of seeing this whole subject fully open'd & explained by You one day, if You persist, as I hope You will, in the noble design of giving a history, in form, of the English Poetry. It is true, a work of this nature requires the Antiquarian, as well as Critic. But You are both; & the imputation needs not alarm You. For your Genius will always enable You, as it does the true Poet, *ex fumo dare lucem*: whereas the mere Antiquarian has no means of breaking thro' the cloud, which his own Dullness, rather than his Subject, throws about him.⁷¹

⁶⁶ See above, pp. 234, 235.

⁶⁷ See Mant, Richard, *The Poetical Works of the Late Thomas Warton* (Oxford, 1802), I, xxx.

⁶⁸ *Critical Review* (Sept., 1763), XVI, 220-1.

⁶⁹ Hartlebury Library, Cc26.

⁷⁰ Hartlebury MS., *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

⁷¹ *Idem*.

Warton answered this letter on October 22, 1762. After expressing his thanks for the gift of the *Letters on Chivalry*, he continues,

Your Letter has roused me to think in earnest of, what I hinted in my *Observations*, a formal History of English Poetry. I have long been laying in materials for this work; and, with regard to the influence of Chivalry and Romance on modern poetry, I may now enlarge with some freedom and confidence on this head, as you have so nobly ventured to speak out. I once had a Scheme of publishing a new Edition of my favorite Chaucer with notes. But the researches I made for that design will properly enough fall in with my present Intention. . . . Whatever I shall undertake to this purpose, I cannot but confess that I shall wander with double delight on fairy ground, while you are my guide and my companion.⁷²

It is notable that here Warton proudly admits the inspiration the *Letters on Chivalry* have given him to elaborate in his *History* upon the influence of chivalry on later English poetry.

The letter from Warton pleased Hurd so much that he wrote about it to Thomas Balguy on December 3, 1762:

I had a very obliging letter from Mr. T. Warton, in answer to one of mine, which carried my thanks for his agreeable present of the *Observations*. I am exceedingly pleased with this second edition of his work, and still more with his project of a History of English Poetry. . . .⁷³

Hurd feels highly complimented by Warton's favorable opinion of the *Letters on Chivalry*, as this letter indicates: "What he said to me on the subject of my Letters shews him to be a very candid and amiable man. He only exceeds a little in his favourable opinion of their author."⁷⁴ Two months later, on February 3, 1763, Balguy in writing to Joseph Warton gives news of Hurd: "Having neglected for some time to write to Mr. Hurd, I know not how he is employing himself; but it is credibly reported that he is at work again for the press."⁷⁵ The fact that Hurd is mentioned in this letter shows Balguy's assurance that the Wartons would be interested in hearing about Hurd's activities.

On December 25, 1763, Thomas Warton writes to Hurd concerning the slow progress of the *History*, and looks forward with pleasure to the publication of Hurd's *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel*. This letter suggests the way in which the two men constantly helped each other through friendly criticism and interest. Warton remarks,

I have been hindered by a tedious Illness from doing much to my Work which you are pleased to remember. On my Return to Oxford I intend to sit down to it in Earnest. I am extremely happy to find you are going to give us a publica-

⁷² Hartlebury MS., *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-4. On the design of an edition of Chaucer, see Wooll, *op. cit.*, pp. 283-4.

⁷³ Kilvert, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁷⁴ *Idem*.

⁷⁵ Wooll, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

tion on so important a Subject. I shall receive your Present with singular pleasure.⁷⁶

In January, 1764, Hurd published *Dialogues on the Uses of Foreign Travel*, a copy of which he sent to Thomas Warton,⁷⁷ who wrote a letter of thanks on April 3, 1764. From Warton's reference to his research on Chaucer for the *History* it is evident that he liked to discuss his investigations with Hurd and receive his encouragement:

I ought long ago to have thanked you for the Present of your most admirable Dialogues. I am collecting Materials for my Work which proceeds with tolerable Expedition, considering my other Engagements. . . . I have commenced a Correspondence with a M^r Farmer of your College; who, though an Antiquarian, seems a very sensible and ingenious Man. Did you ever meet with the *Teseide* of Boccace, from whence Chaucer had the *Knight's Tale*? I presume you know that a Greek Poem on that Story is discovered; supposed to be written by the Constantinople Greeks, and to have been from thence translated, or improved, by Boccace. Which of the two was first I know not; for, as yet, I have seen neither. But this will be a curious enquiry.⁷⁸

Further discussion of Warton's research is contained in a letter of more than a year later, after Hurd had published the third edition of *Moral and Political Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry and Romance* in February, 1765.⁷⁹ To thank Hurd for the gift of these volumes Warton wrote on February 21, 1765,

I have received the Poliphile. It is indeed a very curious Piece, and greatly illustrates the *poetical* Period in which it was written. I ought long since to have returned you my best thanks for the very valuable Present of your three Volumes.

I have been running over a very thick octavo, lately printed, called *a Revisal of Shakespeare's Text*; . . . I flatter myself you will be of my opinion with regard to this doughty Critic, who lays about him very boldly in *the Dark*. . . .⁸⁰

These works Warton used in his *History*. Again, he writes on October 14, 1766, concerning the progress of this work and a prospective visit with Hurd in London, during which they probably discussed investigations for the *History*. Warton declares,

⁷⁶ Hartlebury MS., *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, p. 304. This letter is mentioned by Hurd in writing to Mason on Jan. 29, 1764. (See Whibley, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5.)

⁷⁷ Hurd sent a copy to Mason on Dec. 10, 1763. (Hartlebury MS., extract from the Hurd-Mason Correspondence, made by Hurd's nephew.) The *Dialogues* were advertised in *The London Chronicle* on Jan. 21-24, 1764. (XV, 80, 88, 104.)

⁷⁸ Hartlebury MS., *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, p. 304. Dr. Richard Farmer (1735-1797) was master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and author of *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (1767). Warton discusses the Greek poem in his *History* (1774). (I, 347-9.)

⁷⁹ Advertised in *The London Chronicle* on Jan. 26-29 as "On Friday February 1, will be published." (XVII, 98, 119.)

⁸⁰ Hartlebury MS., *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, p. 305. *The Revisal of Shakespeare's Text* (London, 1765) is by Benjamin Heath (1704-1766).

I am just returned to Oxford, where I find the Favour of your Letter. . . . I shall be extremely happy to meet you in town: and am much obliged to you for your kind Invitations. I have been lately at Cambridge, where I gott acquainted with Mr. Farmer of your College, who is a great literary Antiquarian. . . . I am at present deeply engaged in finishing Theocritus; and afterwards shall execute my Scheme of the History of English Poetry.⁸¹

Sometime in the spring of 1769, when Hurd was on a visit at Oxford, Warton asked him to procure Thomas Gray's plan for a *History of English Poetry*, which had been projected about 1752. Originally Hurd had pressed Gray to carry out this design,⁸² and then evidently transferred his constant encouragement to Warton. A letter of July 26, 1769, acknowledges Hurd's stimulating influence, which has impelled Warton to continue his research, instead of dissipating his energies as Gray did. Warton writes,

When I had the Pleasure of seeing you at Oxford, you very obligingly offered to ask M^r Gray for the Plan he had formed of *the History of English Poetry*. I then told you my Resolutions of prosecuting that Subject: and am now retired into the Country on purpose to throw my materials into form, & to finish a work to which my Studies have been long directed, under your kind encouragement & the flattering hopes of your Approbation. I should esteem it a singular Favour if you could give me any Hints of M^r Gray's projected Scheme.⁸³

On September 15, 1769, Hurd answers this letter with the news that Gray "is rambling with some friends in the North of England"; but Hurd promises to ask for the plan. He says further,

You give me great pleasure in letting me see that you are so much in earnest about this noble design, which will be so acceptable to the public, and will do yourself so much honour.⁸⁴

In a letter to Balguy ten days later Hurd mentions his application for Gray's design, and expresses doubt that it "will be of much service to Mr. Warton."⁸⁵ On December 4, 1769, Hurd writes Gray: "I troubled you some time ago, by Mr. Mason, with a petition in behalf of Mr. T. Warton, who is digesting his history of E. Poetry, & wishes very much to know what your idea was for the scheme of such a work."⁸⁶ Finally on April 15, 1770, when Warton's first volume was almost finished, Gray sent his plan for a history with an acknowledgement of Hurd's intercession:

⁸¹ Hartlebury MS., *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-6.

⁸² Whibley, *op. cit.*, p. 37, Hurd to Gray, Aug. 16, 1757.

⁸³ Hartlebury MS, *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁸⁴ Wooll, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-9.

⁸⁵ Kilvert, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁸⁶ Whibley, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-9.

Our Friend Dr. Hurd having long ago desired me in your name to communicate any fragments, or sketches of a design, I once had to give a history of English poetry, you may well think me rude or negligent, when you see me hesitating for so many months, before I comply with your request.⁸⁷

In his reply on April 20, 1770, Warton remarks that Hurd also obtained Pope's outline of a history: "Your plan for the *History of English Poetry* is admirably constructed; and much improved from an idea of Pope, which Mr. Mason obligingly sent me by application from our friend Dr. Hurd."⁸⁸

Two years later in a letter of January 17, 1772, Warton says that the first volume of the *History* has been completed. From the way in which he makes excuses for not finishing sooner, it seems that Hurd must have been a severe taskmaster. Warton declares,

Had I the privilege of being what is called an *idle* man, I should long ago have completed The History of English Poetry. But at Oxford my Time is much taken up. I am engaged in the Care of Pupils, and almost constantly involved in the Rotation of College-offices, some of which are very troublesome. Notwithstanding, I have fairly written out the first volume which is now in the Press. Your Candour will admitt these unavoidable avocations as an Apology for my Delay. In the mean time, I am publishing next March the Life of our Founder Sir Thomas Pope: but it was finished for the Press long ago, & has not in the least interfered in the Progress of the other work. . . .⁸⁹

As the foregoing letters show, Hurd was responsible for advancing the composition of the *History* by encouragement of Warton's research. The above quotations indicate that there was a considerable tendency to indolence and procrastination in Warton's character, with the result that Hurd was probably an important force in urging Warton to organize his investigations into a form fit to be published.⁹⁰ But Hurd's influence was not merely this general encouragement, since he paved the way with his *Letters on Chivalry* for an elaboration of this subject in the *History*.⁹¹ The published *History* shows such marked similarities to the *Letters on Chivalry* that Hurd's specific influence cannot be doubted.

The only mention of Hurd in the *History* occurs in Warton's discussion of the *Rime of Sir Thopas*, where he paraphrases the *Letters on Chivalry* thus before quoting from it:

⁸⁷ *Correspondence of Thomas Gray*, ed. Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley (Oxford, 1935), III, 1122-3.

⁸⁸ Chalmers, Alexander, *Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1817), XXXI, 175.

⁸⁹ Hartlebury MS., *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, p. 307. *The Life of Sir Thomas Pope* was written for the *Biographia Britannica* (1760), then was enlarged for separate publication (1772).

⁹⁰ Like Gray, Warton planned many works which he never executed: editions of Apollonius, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, a commentary on Spenser's minor poems, and the rest of the *History*.

⁹¹ See above, p. 246.

Warton:

Chaucer, at a period which almost realised the manners of romantic chivalry, discerned the leading absurdities of the old romances: and in this poem, which may be justly called a prelude to Don Quixote, has burlesqued them with exquisite ridicule.⁹²

Hurd:

. . . DAN CHAUCER, who, in a reign, that almost realized the wonders of romantic chivalry, not only discerned the absurdity of the old romances, but has even ridiculed them with incomparable spirit.

HIS RIME OF SIR TOPAZ . . . may be considered as a sort of prelude to the adventures of Don QUIXOTE.⁹³

After this introduction Warton quotes from "Dr. Hurd's LETTERS ON CHIVALRY AND ROMANCE. Dialogues, &c. iii. 218. edit. 1765" to the effect that Chaucer used "a story of antique fame" for the purpose of "discrediting the old romances." Warton proceeds to summarize Hurd's belief that Chaucer meant to satirize not the romances but their absurdities:

Warton:

But it is to be remembered, that Chaucer's design was intended to ridicule the frivolous descriptions, and other tedious impertinencies, so common in the volumes of chivalry with which his age was overwhelmed, not to degrade in general or expose a mode of fabling, whose sublime extravagancies constitute the marvellous graces of his own CAMBUSCAN.⁹⁴

Hurd:

But what puts the satiric purpose of *the Rime of Sir TOPAZ* out of all question, is, That this short poem is so managed as, with infinite humour, to expose the leading impertinencies of books of chivalry. . . .

Only, I would observe, that, though, in this ridiculous ballad, the poet clearly intended to expose the romances of the time, as they were commonly written, he did not mean, absolutely and under every form, to condemn the kind of writing itself: as, I think, we must conclude from the serious air, and very different conduct, of the SQUIRE'S TALE. . . .

We learn, too, from the same tale, that, though CHAUCER could be as pleasant on the other fooleries of Romance, as any modern critic, he let the *marvellous* of it escape his ridicule, or rather esteemed this character of the *Gothic* Romance, no foolery. For the tale of CAMBUSCAN is all over MARVELLOUS. . . .⁹⁵

Critics of Warton have noticed that apparently without any sense of contradiction he praises the sublime improprieties of the Gothic style on one page, and on the next the progress of English poetry from barbarism to elegance. It is significant therefore that when Warton seems

⁹² *History* (1774), I, 433. This notice of Hurd has been pointed out by Mr. Audley L. Smith. (*Op. cit.*, p. 76.)

⁹³ *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 317-18.

⁹⁴ *History* (1774), I, 434.

⁹⁵ *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 319, 325-6.

to borrow from Hurd, as in the above opinion of Chaucer, the result is a decidedly "romantic" point of view.

The second subject in the *History* for which Warton evidently draws on Hurd is the historical background of chivalry and of the Gothic manners represented in the old romances. In describing the "salutary consequences" of chivalry, Warton echoes the *Letters on Chivalry*, as in the following excerpt:

Warton:

The genius of the feudal policy was perfectly martial. A numerous nobility, formed into separate principalities, affecting independence, and mutually jealous of their privileges and honours, necessarily lived in a state of hostility. This situation rendered personal strength and courage the most requisite and essential accomplishments. And hence, even in time of peace, they had no conception of any diversions or public ceremonies, but such as were of the military kind.⁹⁶

Hurd:

The first and most sensible effect of this [the feudal] constitution . . . was the erection of a prodigious number of petty tyrannies. . . . the great barons . . . all set up for themselves; affected an independency; and were, in truth, a sort of absolute Sovereigns, at least with regard to one another. Hence, their mutual aims and interests often interfering, the feudal state was, in a good degree, a state of war. . . . Further, there being little or no security to be had amidst so many restless spirits and the clashing views of a neighbouring numerous and independent nobility, the military discipline of their followers, even in the intervals of peace, was not to be relaxed. . . . the feudal policy['s] . . . turbulent genius breathed nothing but war, and was fierce and military even in its amusements.⁹⁷

Both Hurd and Warton note that the attendance of ladies at tournaments and in the courts exercised a refining influence on the martial spirit of the times; stress the importance of ladies of wealth and nobility, who required adoration and protection, in developing the gallantry of the knights; picture the general "violence, rapine, and plunder" which inspired "valour and humanity"; point out the influence of religion, in which love of God and of the ladies was combined; and regard the crusades as a dividing line between two periods of chivalry, since the expeditions into the east enriched the original code of gallantry.⁹⁸

Warton judges the Gothic manners according to the historical method which he had used earlier: "We must not try the modes and notions of other ages, even if they have arrived to some degree of refinement, by

⁹⁶ *History* (1774), I, Dissertation I.

⁹⁷ *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 199, 200-1, 202. It is possible that both the above passages might have been composed independently from Sainte-Palaye's *Mémoires*.

⁹⁸ *History* (1774), I, Dissertations I and II; 109-10; *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 199, 200-4, 207-13, 218-19, 240-3.

those of our own.”⁹⁹ Likewise Hurd observes that “The modes and fashions of different times may appear, at first sight, fantastic and unaccountable. But they, who look nearly into them, discover some latent cause of their production.”¹⁰⁰ Both argue for the reality of the manners pictured in romances by comparing these representations to those of the Greek writers. This idea, which Warton in the *Observations* of 1762 apparently borrowed from Hurd, is merely repeated in the *History*.¹⁰¹ They go farther, however, and suggest an actual foundation for many of the “extravagances” in the romances: for the magical walls of fire both Hurd and Warton find a basis in the “feugregeois,” or wildfire, which was used in medieval warfare.¹⁰²

The third conception of Warton’s which Hurd seems to have influenced was the recognition of poetic quality in Gothic manners and superstitions. In a long passage Warton summarizes Hurd’s dicta concerning the superiority of the Gothic sublime to the Homeric:

The customs, institutions, traditions, and religion, of the middle ages, were favorable to poetry. Their pageants, processions, spectacles, and ceremonies, were friendly to imagery, to personification and allegory. Ignorance and superstition, so opposite to the real interests of human society, are the parents of imagination. The very devotion of the Gothic times was romantic. . . . its visions, miracles, and legends, propagated a general propensity to the Marvellous, and strengthened the belief of spectres, demons, witches, and incantations.¹⁰³

This discussion reflects Hurd’s statement in regard to the romance-writers that “the *manners* they paint, and the *superstitions* they adopt, are the more poetical for being *Gothic*.”¹⁰⁴ To prove the excellence of the Gothic magic Hurd traces the “troubled stream of superstition . . . deepening and darkening” from the classical visions, through the “hideous phantasms” of the northern nations, and finally through the “supernumerary horrors” of Christian superstition.¹⁰⁵ Finally, both critics lament the decline of romantic enchantments under the pressure of reason and truth. Warton, echoing Hurd’s words, deplors the loss of “extravagancies that are above propriety” and “fictions that are more valuable than reality”: “the lover of true poetry will ask, what have we gained by this revolution? It may be answered, much good sense, good

⁹⁹ *History* (1774), I, 252.

¹⁰⁰ *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 193–4.

¹⁰¹ See above, pp. 238–9. *History* (1774), I, 42, 117, 125–6, Dissertation I; (1778), II, 88–9. *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 238–46.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 298; *History* (1774), I, 157.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* (1778), II, 462.

¹⁰⁴ *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 260.

¹⁰⁵ *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 252–5; see also *ibid.*, pp. 265–6.

taste, and good criticism."¹⁰⁶ Hurd likewise regrets that in the triumph of judgment "a world of fine fabling" has been lost: "What we have gotten by this revolution, you will say, is a great deal of good sense."¹⁰⁷

Both Warton and Hurd in general favored allegorical poetry, but in the *Faerie Queene* Hurd disapproved of the allegory because it detracted from the Gothic design. Warton seems to adopt this decision entirely at the end of his "Dissertation on the Gesta Romanorum," and to use Hurd's very words in an extensive passage:

Letters on Chivalry:

In short, to keep off the eyes of the prophane from prying too nearly into his subject, he [Spenser] threw about it the mist of allegory: he moralized his song: and the virtues and vices lay hid under his warriours and enchanters. A contrivance which he had learned indeed from his *Italian* masters: For TASSO had condescended to allegorize his own work; and the commentators of ARIOSTO had even converted the extravagances of the *Orlando Furioso*, into moral lessons.

And this, it must be owned, was a sober attempt in comparison of some projects that were made about the same time to serve the cause of the old, and now expiring Romances. For it is to be observed, that the idolizers of these romances did by them, what the votaries of HOMER had done by him. As the times improved and would less bear his strange tales, they *moralized* what they could, and turned the rest into mysteries of *natural science*. And as this last contrivance was principally designed to cover the monstrous stories of the *Pagan Gods*, so it served the lovers of Romance to palliate the no less monstrous stories of *magic and enchantments*.

The editor, or translator of the 24th

History:

In conformity to this practice, Tasso allegorized his own poem: and a flimsy structure of morality was raised on the chimerical conceptions of Ariosto's ORLANDO. In the year 1577, a translation of a part of Amadis de Gaule appeared in France; with a learned preface, developing the valuable stores of profound instruction, concealed under the naked letter of the old romances, which were discernible only to the intelligent, and totally unperceived by common readers; who, instead of plucking the fruit, were obliged to rest contented with *le simple FLEUR de la Lecture litterale*. Even Spenser, at a later period, could not indulge his native impulse to descriptions of chivalry, without framing such a story, as conveyed, under the *dark conceit* of ideal champions, a set of historic transactions, and an exemplification of the nature of the twelve moral virtues. . . . The same apology may be offered for the cabalistical interpreters, both of the classics and the old romances. The former not willing that those books should be quite exploded which contained the antient mythology, laboured to reconcile the apparent absurdities of the pagan system to the christian mysteries, by demonstrating a figurative resem-

¹⁰⁶ *History* (1778), II, 463. This passage has been pointed out by Mr. Audley L. Smith as borrowed from Hurd. (*Op. cit.*, p. 77, n. 46.)

¹⁰⁷ *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 337. Misprint repeating "say" has been omitted.

book of AMADIS DE GAULE, printed at Lyons in 1577, has a preface explaining the whole secret, which concludes with these words, "Voyla, Lecteur, le FRUIT, qui se peut recueillir du sens mystique des Romans antiques par les ESPRITS ESLEUS, le commun peuple soy contentant de la SIMPLE FLEUR DE LA LECTURE LITERALE."¹⁰⁸

blance. The latter, as true learning began to dawn, with a view of supporting for a while the expiring credit of giants and magicians, were compelled to palliate those monstrous incredibilities, by a bold attempt to unravel the mystic web which had been wove by fairy hands, and by shewing that truth was hid under the gorgeous veil of Gothic invention.¹⁰⁹

In conclusion, it seems clear that Warton was encouraged by the *Letters on Chivalry* to "speak out" on the subject of romance as well as Gothic manners and enchantments. One reason for the importance of Warton's *History* is that he recognized the gradual development of English poetry instead of regarding Shakespeare, Spenser, and Chaucer as prodigies in two centuries of extreme ignorance. This attention to minor poets Hurd may have supported in his meetings with Warton, because there are several entries in Hurd's *Commonplace Book* on early English poets. Certainly Hurd's defense of another standard for Spenser, Tasso, Ariosto, and the romance-writers, besides Boileau's "cliquant de Tasse" and Pope's "follow nature," necessitated a revision of the general conception of barbarism. Warton sometimes felt misgivings about his undertaking: "In a work of this general and comprehensive nature, in which the fluctuations of genius are surveyed, and the dawns or declensions of taste must alike be noticed, it is impossible that every part of the subject can prove equally splendid and interesting."¹¹⁰ At times of discouragement, which every scholar experiences, Hurd's sincere interest probably had a compelling effect.

III

In 1785 and 1791 Thomas Warton's editions of *Poems upon Several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin, with Translations, by John Milton* were published. In the first edition Hurd is recognized as a "critic of the most consummate abilities," and a few notes are apparently borrowed from his essay *On the Marks of Imitation* and his *Letters on Chivalry*.¹¹¹ He probably influenced the publication further by his exhortations, for later he praised this volume and urged Warton to plan a

¹⁰⁸ *Dialogues. With Letters on Chivalry* (1765), III, 332-3.

¹⁰⁹ *History* (1781), III, xcvi-xcvii.

¹¹⁰ *History* (1778), II, 366.

¹¹¹ *Poems upon Several Occasions* (1785), pp. 597; 191, n. 467; 102-3, n. 62; 74, n. 80; x; xi-xii; xx.

second to contain *Samson Agonistes* and *Paradise Regained*. On April 6, 1785, Warton writes,

I cannot but acknowledge myself highly honoured in your Lordship's very favourable opinion of my Milton; and from your Lordship's recommendation of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* to my revisal, I feel the strongest inducements to undertake those two poems. It is my wish to bring forward every piece of Milton, who has been depreiated by Dr Johnson, a specious and popular writer, without taste. But at present, I am deeply engaged in the concluding volume of the History of our poetry, which I mean to prosecute without interruption or delay.¹¹²

Although Warton died in 1790, he had completed for the press the second edition of *Poems upon Several Occasions*,¹¹³ and was therefore responsible for including thirty-six notes by Hurd, which are acknowledged in the Preface. During 1790 Hurd urged Joseph Warton "by all means to finish the edition of the Minor Poems which his brother had begun";¹¹⁴ and Hurd probably would have contributed more notes, because his set of Milton is full of marginal comments on *Samson Agonistes* and *Paradise Regained*.¹¹⁵

Raymond D. Havens calls Thomas Warton's *Milton* "a learned compilation from which all subsequent editors have quarried, particularly for its parallel passages."¹¹⁶ Hurd's connections with this work therefore prove him more important in the Miltonic revival than is usually believed. Obviously Warton did not acquire his love of Milton from Hurd; but this love was mutual, and Hurd's exhortations probably helped to bring the first edition to the point of publication and apparently instigated the design of including *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* in the second edition.

In the eighteenth century, when the dominant critics were scornfully dismissing the Middle Ages for their barbarity, the Gothic romances for their fantastic irregularities, and the Italian poets for their inferiority to the French, the opinions of Warton and Hurd were startling radicalism. In the so-called age of reason and design they significantly evaluated the Gothic beauties of Spenser, Ariosto, Tasso, and Milton;

¹¹² Hartlebury MS., *Letters to Hurd*; printed in *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, *op. cit.*, p. 307. The copy of the first edition which Warton evidently sent Hurd remains in Hartlebury Library (Xa5); it contains four notes in Hurd's handwriting.

¹¹³ Rinaker, Clarissa, "Twenty-six Unedited Letters from Thomas Warton . . .," *JEGP* (1915), XIV, 114-15. The "second volume" was not finished.

¹¹⁴ Kilvert, *op. cit.*, pp. 176, 322.

¹¹⁵ The manuscript notes appear in the sets of Thomas Newton's *Milton* in Hartlebury Library: 2nd ed., 1750-1753; 4to ed., 1775-1777.

¹¹⁶ Havens, R. D., *The Influence of Milton on English Poetry* (Cambridge [Mass.], 1922), p. 463.

revealed the poetic quality of the chivalric manners and customs, as compared to the classical; pointed out the forgotten treasures of early English literature; and demonstrated new standards of criticism. Warton as poet and critic was particularly important in the awakening of imaginative interest in the past, and his *Observations on the Faerie Queene*, *History of English Poetry*, and editions of Milton were recognized pioneers in the development of "romantic" criticism in the late eighteenth century. Of his work with Spenser Jewel Wurtsbaugh says:

Warton's study of the poet's sources suggests the breaking down of an old canonical rigidity and narrow dogmatism that judged a work of art by standards of a later time rather than by such criteria as had originally inspired it.¹¹⁷

In this criticism of Spenser, however, Warton vacillates between his appreciation and his judgment, as Raymond D. Havens observes,

To the last he remained true to the orthodox, neo-classic principles and at the same time a devoted admirer of medieval art which those principles condemned. The condemnation apparently troubled him little; it seems not to have interfered with his enjoyment and certainly did not drive him to any thorough-going examination of the bases of his taste.¹¹⁸

Hurd's unorthodox statements, although later than the first edition of the *Observations*, were more extreme and more categorical than Warton's and undoubtedly resolved to some extent the latter's fluctuation between his feelings and his reason.

As the above investigation proves, Hurd strongly influenced Warton's opinions in the direction of criticizing a poet according to his own aims, sensibility, and milieu. Hurd's use of the comparative method of criticism and his emphatic appreciation of Spenser, the Italian poets, Milton, and the chivalric romances were important in convincing Warton to a greater degree that his heart was a better judge than his head. Therefore it was Hurd's influence which contributed the dogmatic "romanticism" to the second edition of the *Observations* and the *History of English Poetry*. Furthermore, when Warton felt discouraged by the endless nature of his research, or overcome by the general idleness prevalent at Oxford in the eighteenth century, he was stimulated by Hurd's real interest in the "sublime" poets. Thus, through his participation in Warton's three salient critical publications, Hurd's significance as a forerunner of the "romantic movement" is greatly expanded and enhanced: he can no longer be regarded simply as the author of "derivative" *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*.

¹¹⁷ Wurtsbaugh, J., *Two Centuries of Spenserian Scholarship (1609-1805)* (Baltimore, 1936), p. 160.

¹¹⁸ "Thomas Warton and the Eighteenth-Century Dilemma," *SP* (Jan., 1928), XXV, 49.

SOME LITERARY OPINIONS OF MADAME DU DEFFAND¹

A. E. A. NAUGHTON

Stanford University

When, on the eve of the sixteenth of April, 1766, Horace Walpole bade farewell in Paris to his dear new friend Madame Du Deffand, and the next day took the *poste de Calais* for his native England, there began a correspondence which was to be continued, with rare interruptions, until the death of Madame Du Deffand in 1780.

The unusual psychological interest of Madame Du Deffand's letters in a period which counts the names of Mademoiselle d'Aïssé, Mademoiselle de Lespinasse and the Portuguese Nun has long attracted the subtle pen of critics, from Sainte-Beuve to Lytton Strachey and André Maurois. On that score little remains to be said that the letters cannot say for themselves. It is sufficient to recall that Walpole's "charming old passion" was a noblewoman nearly seventy years old, who suffered the cruel misfortune of being blind, and who was condemned to the existence of one entirely dependent upon others for her amusement as well as her physical needs. Yet it was in the *salon* of this woman, now retired to the modest suite of rooms in the convent of Saint Joseph on rue Saint Dominique, that gathered a society of men and women of *le meilleur monde*. In spite of her years, Madame Du Deffand still retained the brilliant sprightliness of wit for which she had long been famous, while her blindness only seemed to sharpen the penetration of her insight into the weaknesses and *ridicules* of her visitors.

It is small wonder that the English bachelor, collector of celebrities and *noms propres*, should have considered it a self-obligation to be presented to this famous *salonnière*, whose reputation in his eyes was considerably heightened by the rumor that in her youth she had been the mistress for a fortnight of the Regent himself. What more interesting a person than the Regent and who could give him more anecdotes of the *inédit* order than this same woman? It is perhaps to be marvelled at that their first meetings grew into a rare and beautiful friendship, at least on her side. He delighted this woman, revolted by the conventionalities of

¹ Quotations throughout this article are from Mrs. Paget Toynbee's edition: *Lettres de Mme. Du Deffand à Horace Walpole* (1766-1780), London, 1912, 3 vols., and *Mme. Du Deffand: Lettres à Voltaire*, Editions Bossard, Paris, 1922, referred to as W and V.

a brilliant but superficial society, by the freshness and frankness of his views, his *Outre-Manche* eccentricity; and she charmed him, as she charmed everyone, by her conversation, her *mots*, her unending stories of that most fascinating period, the Regency.

While Walpole returned to "trifle" at Strawberry Hill with his collections, his garden and his printing press, more tender feelings entered into her friendship for this man and gave to her life, until then devoured by an eternal and omnipresent *ennui*, a meaning and sweetness she had never felt before. She poured out these new feelings to him, but our Englishman had a mortal fear, "shuddered at the thought" of what people might think of the senile friendship. He therefore imposed upon her the conditions under which he was willing to enter into a correspondence: there should be no mention of the word *aimer* in their letters. She wrote to him even before he had taken the *poste*:

Votre billet m'a serré le cœur, et a augmenté en moi ce mot (aimer) que vous m'avez interdit.²

She will be free, then, in her letters, like Figaro, to speak about everything except what is nearest to her heart: her friendship, her affection. She is glad to accept any conditions. She will write about the things that interest him in Parisian society: the *noms propres*, the gossip, the scandal, books, their friends and their doings. So much the worse if her affection whispers beneath each line! She writes as she speaks. "Je causerai avec vous comme si nous étions tête-à-tête au coin du feu."³ Without pedantry or affectation, in that alert and simple style which belongs in its concision to the manner of Anthony Hamilton and Voltaire and in its color to herself, she has won a high rank both as a writer and as a critic, without laying claim to either title, and perhaps for that very reason.

Probably every student of French literature has encountered on some page or other Madame Du Deffand's criticism of Montesquieu's *De l'Esprit des Lois*. Fewer probably have taken the trouble to read La Harpe's answer in his *Lycée*. "Madame Dudeffant (sic) qui n'y voyait que des saillies dit que c'était 'de l'esprit sur les lois,' et Voltaire adopta le mot et le jugement. J'ai assez connu Madame Dudeffant pour assurer que cette femme, qui avait de l'esprit naturel, et surtout de l'esprit de société sans aucune instruction, n'était pas plus en état d'apprécier *l'Esprit des Lois* que capable de le lire: Elle ne pouvait que le parcourir pour en parler."⁴ Making the necessary allowance for La Harpe's ani-

² W, I, 3.

³ W, I, 3.

⁴ La Harpe: *Lycée, ou Cours de littérature ancienne et moderne*, Paris, l'an XIII (1804). Vol. XV, p. 54.

mus against everything connected with the eighteenth century, it is still true that Madame Du Deffand's education was far from ideal, even for a woman of her class and age. It would have pleased neither Fénelon nor later Rousseau. Brought up, as was the fashion of the day, in a convent, and one of the most *mondain*, la Madeleine de Traisnel, she does not even appear to have acquired any degree of piety in the institution.

In later years she deeply regretted these misspent years of youth and sketched, as did so many other women of the eighteenth century, her own program of education.

Je maudis bien mon éducation; on fait quelquefois la question si l'on voudrait revenir à tel âge. Oh! je ne voudrais pas redevenir jeune à condition d'être élevée comme je l'ai été, de ne vivre qu'avec les gens avec lesquels j'ai vécu, et d'avoir le genre d'esprit que j'ai; j'aurais tous les mêmes malheurs que j'ai eus; mais j'accepterais avec grand plaisir de revenir à quatre ans, d'avoir pour gouverneur un Horace qui me ferait tout apprendre, langues, sciences, etc., et qui m'empêcherait bien de devenir pédante ou précieuse. Il me formerait le goût, le jugement, le discernement; il m'apprendrait à connaître le monde, à m'en méfier, à le mépriser, à m'en amuser; il ne briderait point mon imagination, il n'éteindrait point mes passions, il ne refroidirait point mon âme; mais il serait comme les bons maîtres à danser, qui conservent le maintien naturel et y ajoutent la bonne grâce ... Ces pensées causent des regrets, font faire de tristes réflexions, et confirment l'idée que j'ai toujours eue, que personne n'a tout l'esprit et tout le mérite qu'il aurait pu avoir.⁵

Vain regrets, which it is difficult to share. Madame Du Deffand's mind, her taste, on which she preened herself, her judgment of men and books, or more often the man of a book since she generally saw the man through the book, are the result of experience and not of schooling. "Elle n'a pour ainsi dire point eu d'éducation et n'a rien acquis que par l'expérience. Cette expérience a été tardive et a été le fruit de bien des malheurs."⁶ There is, it is said, no better school and this is probably true even for a literary critic.

One feels a certain relief that Madame Du Deffand makes no pretensions to being a Madame de Staël, a female Boileau, a Scudéry or a Chapelain. The eighteenth century in France had its theorists in abundance, its Marmontels, its Abbés du Bos, its grammarians and authors of *Ars Poetica*, its fetish for the Rules.⁷ Their excellent work suc-

⁵ W, I, 358-9.

⁶ *Ibid. Self portrait*, II, 574.

⁷ Vous autres anglais, vous ne vous soumettez à aucune règle, à aucune méthode; vous laissez croître le génie sans le contraindre à prendre telle ou telle forme; vous auriez tout l'esprit que vous avez si personne n'en avait eu avant vous. Oh! nous ne sommes pas comme cela; nous avons des livres, les uns sont l'art de penser; d'autres l'art de parler, d'écrire, de comparer, de juger, etc., etc. Nous sommes les enfants de l'art: quelqu'un de parfaitement naturel chez nous devrait être montré à la foire—enfin, ce serait un phénomène. W, I, 269.

cessfully dried up all poetry, all tragedy, and tended in time to reduce French prose style to a colorless algebraic pattern of symbols. Madame Du Deffand is not a critic in this sense of the word. It is true that her taste is largely that of a woman of polite society, but a woman brought up in the social ideal of the *honnête homme*, of the man *qui ne se pique de rien*, a person of breeding and manners who can speak without affectation and conceit, interestingly, in a lively and simple manner, of his experience, be he a *maréchal* of France recently returned from the winter's campaign, a savant or a minister of state, a mathematician who has just published a work on probabilities, an economist who has just expounded a new theory on the traffic in wheat. A work too can and should be *de la bonne compagnie*.

There are, of course, limitations to this conception of literature's place in life, and it must be owned further that Madame Du Deffand demanded above all of an author that he provide her with amusement during her long sleepless vigils, the unseeing hours when the unhappy woman sought some distraction from her physical misfortune and her mortal enemy, Boredom. Her constant appeal to the *Grand Amuseur*, to Voltaire no less, was: "amusez-moi." If the latest *nouveauté* failed to please, she would have her faithful reader and secretary Wiart read the fairy tales, the *contes bleus*, or *Les Rivalités de l'Angleterre et de la France* in fifteen volumes. In the early hours of the morning an old veteran would come over from the Invalides to "user sa voix à ... lire trois ou quatre heures," only to be replaced by three more readers. "J'ai pris un quatrième laquais parce que j'avais besoin d'un lecteur de plus, mon Invalide n'est que pour le matin, et mes trois laquais lecteurs sont pour l'après-dîner et le soir."⁸ Indeed she must have been an omnivorous reader to wear out four readers each twenty-four hours, for it must be remembered that she could not read with her own eyes and that her judgment of books, such as *De l'Esprit*, is the judgment of a listener. Helvétius cannot be read like *la Princesse de Babylone*; he demands study.

These are, no doubt, serious drawbacks; yet Madame Du Deffand is not incapable of being touched by true feeling, truly expressed. Her definition of *bon goût*, which is her touchstone of any work, clearly shows that her guide is realism. "Le bon goût est ce qui approche de la nature, ou ce qui imite parfaitement ce qu'on veut représenter." In her taste she is much closer to the seventeenth century than to the eighteenth and her judgments have prompted Sainte-Beuve to describe her as a true classicist.

⁸ W, III, 596.

Her opinions are above all excellent examples of that increasingly important criticism which the late Albert Thibaudet called *la critique spontanée*.

"Il y a," writes Voltaire, "beaucoup de gens de lettres qui ne sont point auteurs, et ce sont probablement les plus heureux. Ils sont à l'abri du dégoût que la profession d'auteur entraîne quelquefois, des querelles que la rivalité fait naître, des animosités de parti et des faux jugements; ils jouissent plus de la société, ils sont juges et les autres sont jugés."⁹

La critique spontanée is spoken criticism, the opinion of people of feeling, of taste. It is neither academic nor professional nor theoretic nor prescriptive. It is often another form of the mysterious thing called "public opinion." Today it is a matter of great interest to the literary historian to know what people, Mr. Everyman, thought about Shakespeare. The scholar is just as interested in Martin Tupper as he is in Tennyson, in Thomas Corneille as in the other brother. It would be an exaggeration to say of Madame Du Deffand's opinions that they give us the answer to what the "man in the street" admired or even what he read. The truth of the matter is that that man did not read at all. But her opinions do provide a balance to the judgment of posterity, which is perhaps not always as right as Diderot would have liked to believe. Her opinions on the Encyclopaedists, on Rousseau, on Voltaire himself aid us in estimating historically the importance of these writers. It is a further characteristic of spontaneous criticism that it uses only one standard: in the words of Madame Du Deffand, "l'ennui ou le plaisir." To win the approbation of this woman whose *salon* is not without political connections¹⁰ is the ambition of more than one writer, but most particularly of Voltaire, always ready to court those in a position to further or harm his security. Her witty appreciations, or more often "depreciations," have an immediate success, circulate from group to group, and contribute much to the success or failure of a new work. In few periods of French social history has the influence of the *salon* on public opinion been more potent. "Ses jugements littéraires qui durent paraître d'une excessive sévérité dans le moment se trouvent presque tous confirmés aujourd'hui." Thus spoke no less competent an authority than Sainte-Beuve.¹¹

Yet Madame Du Deffand was herself considerably more modest in the importance she attached to her obiter dicta.

⁹ A. Thibaudet, *Physiologie de la critique* (Paris, 1930), p. 25.

¹⁰ Madame Du Deffand was on excellent terms with the Duc and Duchesse de Choiseul. She was distantly related to the family, for her grandmother had been a Duchesse de Choiseul by her second marriage.

¹¹ Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, Vol. I.

Vous me faites beaucoup d'honneur que je ne mérite; vous ne savez pas que quand on me demande mon avis, je ne sais plus quel il est; toutes mes lumières sont premiers mouvements; je ne juge que par sentiment; si je demande à mon esprit une opération quelconque, je reconnais alors que je n'en ai point du tout.¹² ... Je ne sais pas un mot de grammaire, ma manière de m'exprimer est toujours l'effet du hasard indépendant de toute règle et de tout art; aussi je ne suis point flattée quand on me dit que j'écris bien, car je n'en crois rien.¹³

As is to be expected, the vast proportion of the books read by Madame Du Deffand were the works which appeared in her day. With the exception of seventeenth century books, she appears to have read very few of the works of earlier writers. In this she belonged to her century. It is piquant to read the opinion on the *fabliaux* that she expressed to the man who is credited with starting the vogue for the Gothic.

J'ai essayé du *Fabliaux*,¹⁴ rien ne m'a semblé plus ennuyeux. Je hais les vieux romans, et folie pour folie, j'aime mieux le moderne que l'antique.¹⁵

For Abélard and Héloïse her antipathy is just as great.

Soyez Abailard si vous voulez, mais ne comptez pas que je sois jamais Héloïse. Est-ce que je ne vous ai jamais dit l'antipathie que j'ai pour toutes ces lettres-là? J'ai été persécutée de toutes les traductions qu'on en a faites et qu'on me forçait d'entendre. Ce mélange, ou plutôt ce galimatias de dévotion, de métaphysique, de physique, me paraissait faux, exagéré, dégoûtant. Choisissez d'être pour moi tout autre chose qu'Abailard; soyez, si vous voulez, Saint François de Sales; je l'aime assez et je serai volontiers votre Philothée.¹⁶

Few are the authors of the sixteenth century mentioned in the course of this long correspondence. In general that violent, and, to her, unpolished age was little calculated to please. Henri IV she liked as a man; she enjoyed reading the *Mémoires* of Sully, or the *Lettres* of "good" François de Sales. But of Rabelais her judgment is sweeping and final. "Certainement je ne lirai point Rabelais."¹⁷ It does not appear that her determination was ever changed.

On the other hand it was inevitable that the young sceptic whom Masillon questioned in the convent and for whom his only recommendation was a *catéchisme à cinq sous* should discover a kindred soul in Montaigne. He alone of all "philosophers" past or present finds her favor. Her distrust of all systems, of all metaphysicians, of all "les petits" that Montaigne himself created, finds a satisfaction in his Pyrrhonism.

Je suis bien sûre que vous vous accoutumerez à Montaigne; on y trouve tout ce qu'on a jamais pensé, et nul style n'est aussi énergique; il n'enseigne rien parce qu'il ne décide de rien; c'est l'opposé du dogmatique; il est vain, mais tous

¹² W, I, 452.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 469.

¹⁴ *Fabliaux ou Contes du XII^e et du XIII^e siècles*, by Le Grand d'Aussy, 1779-1781.

¹⁵ W, III, 593.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 9.

¹⁷ V, p. 43.

les hommes ne sont-ils pas doublement vains? Le *je* et le *moi* sont à chaque ligne, mais quelles sont les connaissances qu'on peut avoir, si ce n'est pas le *je* et le *moi*. Allez, allez, mon tuteur, c'est le seul bon philosophe et le seul bon métaphysicien qu'il y ait jamais eu. Ce sont des rapsodies, si vous voulez, des contradictions perpétuelles; mais il n'établit aucun système; il cherche, observe y reste dans le doute; il n'est utile à rien, j'en conviens, mais il détache de toute opinion et détruit la présomption du savoir.¹⁸

Of the poets of the Pléïade, of Clément Marot, Louise Labé, of the earlier Villon and Charles d'Orléans not a word. We must wait for later curiosity and enthusiasms to find an interest in these poets.

"N'oubliez pas, mon cher contemporain, que vous êtes du siècle de Louis XIV."¹⁹ Thus she writes to Voltaire, the author of the panegyric on the Golden Age of French literary art. Her appreciations of the authors of this period are perhaps most widely known. Her admirations are almost inclusive. But it is interesting to note that perhaps her favorite author, the author whom she quotes most frequently, is La Fontaine. Nor is it only the aphorisms of the fabulist that win her praise; her remarks on his skill, his art, are both sharp and pertinent. She admired his "naïveté, la grâce, l'agrément et pour ainsi dire le moëlleux, ou plutôt la souplesse de l'esprit et du style."²⁰

She read the letters of Bussy de Rabutin, of his cousin Madame de Sévigné, for whom she had unbounded admiration,²¹ although finding the letters of Madame de La Fayette closer to her own manner. Always curious of the human document, she enjoyed the letters of Ninon de Lenclos, of Saint Evremond, of Madame de Maintenon, the *Mémoires* of Saint-Simon, which she was able to see in manuscript thanks to the Duc de Choiseul, praising his views, condemning his style and weakness at *portraits*.

As for the chivalric novel of the Scudérys, the *La Calprenèdes*, the *d'Urfés*, which she sometimes reads for want of better, her opinion is mildly and astonishingly indulgent.

Vous vous plaignez de vos lectures, je n'en suis point étonnée; je suis à la fin de *Cassandre* (La Calprenède), il m'a fallu une excessive patience; vous avez raison, tous les personnages se ressemblent; les dialogues, les monologues sont abominables, mais les intrigues sont quelquefois ingénieuses et donnent de la curiosité; mais enfin je suis bien aise d'en être quitte. Je ne sais plus que lire.²²

¹⁸ W, I, 151.

¹⁹ V, 159.

²⁰ W, III, 35.

²¹ Madame Du Deffand compares her own letters to those of Madame de Sévigné in this way: "Sans oser me comparer à Madame de Sévigné à nul égard, une très-grande différence d'elle à moi, c'est qu'elle se plaisait à écrire et qu'elle était vivement affectée de tout ce qu'elle voyait, et qu'elle mettait par conséquent beaucoup de chaleur à ce qu'elle racontait. Moi, je suis médiocrement affectée; je n'ai point de mémoire, peu de facilité à m'exprimer, souvent des vapeurs qui m'ôtent la faculté de penser." W, III, 354.

²² W, III, 278.

On the Descartes, the Pascals, scarcely a word! and it seems unlikely that she read any of their works. The same is true of the *prédicateurs* whom she knows about, as it seems, more through their position in society and at the Court than otherwise.

Je crois que Fénelon n'était point hypocrite, qu'il a été de bonne foi martyr de ses systèmes, lesquels cependant il n'avait point soutenus contre l'autorité du Pape; c'était ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui un esprit exalté. Ce mot est devenu à la mode pour exprimer l'enthousiasme. Je crois que si Fénelon n'avait pas pris le parti de la dévotion il aurait été très romanesque. Je n'aime point son genre. Je connais peu Bossuet; je crois qu'il n'était point fou, mais il était dur, vain, ambitieux, bien plus que dévot. De son temps on n'était point esprit fort; il n'y a que M. de la Rochefoucauld qu'on puisse soupçonner de l'avoir été.²³

There is nothing but allusion to Molière, as to La Fontaine, but allusions that prove she knows her author thoroughly and loves him. She had seen many performances of his comedies, exclaiming after witnessing *le Tartuffe*, "la pièce est si parfaitement belle!" To Voltaire she pleads: "Il me prend un désir auquel je ne puis résister, c'est de vous demander à mains jointes de faire un éloge, un discours sur notre Molière."²⁴ Only the greatest writer of the age could do justice, in her opinion, to a genius like Molière.

More abundant are her references to the two principal tragedy writers, Corneille and Racine, partly because her friend Voltaire had written a *Commentaire* on the former but also because she enjoyed both of them. There is no place here to speak of Voltaire's criticism which generally illustrates his total misunderstanding of poetry. One quotation from Madame Du Deffand will show her courage and estimate of both tragedians. The letter is well known and often quoted.

Je vous demande très humblement pardon, mais je vous trouve un peu injuste sur Corneille. Je conviens de tous les défauts que vous lui reprochez, excepté quand vous dites qu'il ne peint jamais la nature. Convenez du moins qu'il la peint suivant ce que l'éducation et les mœurs du pays peuvent l'embellir ou la défigurer et qu'il n'y a point dans ses personnages l'uniformité qu'on trouve dans presque toutes les pièces de Racine. C'est plus grand que la nature, j'en conviens, mais tels étaient les Romains; et presque toutes les grandes actions des Romains étaient le résultat de sentiments et de raisonnements qui s'éloignaient du vrai. Il n'y a peut-être que l'amour qui soit une passion naturelle, et c'est presque la seule que Racine ait peinte et rendue, et presque toujours à la manière française. Son style est enchanteur et continuellement admirable. Corneille n'a, comme vous dites, que des éclairs mais qui enlèvent et qui font que malgré l'énormité de ses défauts on a pour lui du respect et de la vénération. Souffrez que je vous juge ainsi que ces deux grands hommes. Vous avez la variété de Corneille, l'excellence de goût de Racine, et un style qui vous rend préférable à tous les deux.²⁵

²³ W., III, 327.

²⁴ V, 143.

²⁵ V, 91-2.

For the schoolboys to debate the debatable in this judgment! One can never believe what she tells Voltaire about himself.²⁶

On February 3, 1780, just six months before her death, Madame Du Deffand wrote Walpole a letter that may be considered her literary testament.

J'examinais l'autre jour ce que je trouvais de plus parfait de tout ce qui avait été écrit, non pas dans chaque genre, mais de ce que je choisirais avoir fait, y compris tous les genres quelconques. Vous croirez peut-être que ce seraient les découvertes de Newton: oh! non, la chanson de M. de Sainte Aulaire me paraît trop bonne. Les livres de morale ne sont bons à rien, il n'y a que celle qu'on fait soi-même. L'histoire est nécessaire mais ennuyeuse; la poésie exige le talent, l'esprit seul ne suffit pas; mais c'est pourtant dans ce genre que je choisirais l'ouvrage que je voudrais avoir fait s'il avait fallu n'en faire qu'un seul, parce qu'il me paraît à tous les égards avoir atteint la perfection. Vous ne le devinez pas, et vous ne penserez peut-être pas de même, c'est *Athalie*.²⁷

The real value of a critic is in what he has to say about his contemporaries. Madame Du Deffand was in the habit of dividing the human species into three classes of people: "les trompeurs, les trompés, et les trompettes," and one is inclined to think that she included in this last category most of the writers of her age. For the Encyclopaedists or the *philosophes* she had little tenderness. It is not, however, to be supposed that her distaste for the group as a whole was prompted by the "betrayal" of her former reader and companion Mademoiselle de Lespinasse, as Sainte-Beuve would have us understand.²⁸ While she criticizes D'Alembert's academic *Eloges* as "froids et présomptueux," this criticism is not inspired by his departure with "cette demoiselle." Her impatience was above all caused by the presumption of the Encyclopaedists, their lack of taste, their desire to lead the world.

Il (Formont) n'était point de ces philosophes in-folio qui enseignent à mépriser le public, à détester les grands, qui voudraient n'en reconnaître dans aucun genre, et qui se plaisent à bouleverser les têtes par des sophismes et par des paradoxes fatigants et ennuyeux; il était bien éloigné de ces extravagances.²⁹

If this is an expression of apprehension over the revolutionary tendencies of the Encyclopaedists, Madame Du Deffand shows more seriousness and perspicacity than most members of her class who, on the eve of the Revolution, went to applaud the *Mariage de Figaro*.

²⁶ For her true opinion of Voltaire as a tragedian one must read her letter to Walpole of October 8, 1779. "Je crois vous avoir mandé que je lis actuellement les théâtres de Corneille, Racine et Voltaire; je trouve ce dernier bien inférieur et nullement digne d'être comparé aux deux autres; tous ses personnages ne sont que lui-même ... il est froid et médiocre dans ses tragédies." III, 556.

²⁷ W, III, 577.

²⁸ Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, Vol. 14, p. 226.

²⁹ V, 36.

Vos philosophes ou plutôt soi-disant philosophes sont de froids personnages; fastueux sans êtres riches, téméraires sans être braves, prêchant l'égalité par esprit de domination, se croyant les premiers hommes du monde, de penser ce que pensent tous les gens qui pensent: orgueilleux, haineux, vindicatifs; ils feraient haïr la philosophie.³⁰ ... Jamais il n'y a eu tant d'hommes moins philosophiques et moins tolérants, ils écraseraient tous ceux qui ne se prosternent pas devant eux.³¹

Madame Du Deffand's view on Enlightenment is concisely expressed in the following words:

Tous discours sur certaine matière me paraissent inutiles; le peuple ne les entend point, la jeunesse ne s'en soucie guère, les gens d'esprit n'en ont pas besoin, et peut-on se soucier d'éclairer les sots?³²

The aristocratic superiority of a patrician? the impatience of a woman whose ideals, literary and other, are being supplanted by a new generation? At any rate, her animadversions are much more telling than many a bishop's *Mandement* of the period.

She found the philosophers no better as individuals than as a group. Helvétius was a bore,³³ and sensualism self-evident³⁴ to any person of common sense; l'Abbé Raynal mediocre, although she confesses that she has not read his *Histoire des deux Indes*.³⁵ Of Diderot her opinion seems to be that he was pompous, but she does not appear to have read much besides his *Eloge de Richardson*. In her mind Jean-Jacques Rousseau is just another Encyclopaedist only a little more mad.

A l'égard de Jean-Jacques, c'est un sophiste, un esprit faux et forcé, son esprit est un instrument discord, il en joue avec beaucoup d'exécution mais il déchire les oreilles de ceux qui en ont. Buffon est d'une monotonie insupportable; il sait bien ce qu'il sait, mais il ne s'occupe que des bêtes; il faut l'être un peu soi-même pour se dévouer à une telle occupation. Vous me trouverez tranchante, mais c'est un tourment pour moi que de parler sans dire ce que je pense.³⁶

³⁰ V, 126. That this drastic result was not achieved in her case she proves in a later letter to Voltaire. "Où prenez-vous que je hais la philosophie? Malgré son inutilité, je l'adore; mais je ne veux pas qu'on la déguise en vaine métaphysique, en paradoxe, en sophisme. Je veux qu'on nous la présente à votre manière, suivant la nature pied à pied, détruisant les systèmes, nous confirmant dans le doute et nous rendant inaccessibles à l'erreur quoique sans nous donner la fausse espérance d'atteindre à la vérité." V, 131-132.

³¹ V, 101. Perhaps this is the place to recall Voltaire's famous battle cry, "Ecrasez l'infâme!"

³² V, 97-8.

³³ "On dit que vous avez trouvé des perles et des diamants dans la petite brochure de quatorze cent pages de M. Helvétius. Comme ma vie ne serait pas assez longue pour une telle lecture et que même cette lecture pourrait l'abrégé en me faisant mourir d'ennui, indiquez-moi les pages qui renferment ces belles pierres précieuses." V, 218.

³⁴ "Je me suis figuré jusqu'à présent que nos connaissances étaient bornées au pouvoir, aux facultés et à l'étendue de nos sens; je sais que nos sens sont sujets à l'illusion mais quel autre guide peut-on avoir?" V, 103.

³⁵ "Je n'ai pas l'esprit assez solide pour faire de telles lectures, elles demanderaient une application dont je suis incapable et un désir de s'instruire que je n'ai pas; je ne cherche qu'à tuer le temps." W, II, 459.

³⁶ W, III, 308.

Jean-Jacques m'est antipathique, il remettra tout dans le chaos; je n'ai rien vu de plus contraire au bon sens que son *Emile*, rien de plus contraire aux bonnes mœurs que son *Héloïse*, et de plus ennuyeux et de plus obscur que son *Contrat Social*.³⁷

It must be concluded that Madame Du Deffand belonged to a small minority of women, at least in her opinion of *Héloïse*, since most anecdotes speak of ladies ready to go to the ball who spent the night instead reading this novel which caused floods of tears.

The *comédie larmoyante*, the *comédie bourgeoise*³⁸ and other innovations in the theater were not for her, but the fundamental cause of the decadence of taste does not escape her.³⁹ "Le goût est perdu, parce qu'il n'y a plus de bons critiques; chacun loue les ouvrages de son voisin, pour obtenir l'approbation des siens."⁴⁰ Speaking of Sedaine, she says:

De toutes les nouveautés, il n'y a qu'une petite comédie qui m'a fait plaisir, le *Philosophe sans le savoir*, elle est jouée à merveille, on y fond en larmes.⁴¹ ... Je ne sais si les ouvrages de cet auteur passeront à la postérité ... mais ce Sedaine a un genre qui fait grand effet. Il a trouvé de nouvelles cordes pour exploiter la sensibilité, il va droit au cœur et laisse là tous les détours d'une métaphysique que je trouve détestable.⁴²

But the dramatist of the period whom posterity has crowned, Beaumarchais, found no favor in her eyes.

J'étais à la comédie de Beaumarchais qu'on représentait pour la seconde fois: à la première elle fut sifflée; pour hier, elle eut un succès extravagant; elle fut portée aux nues; elle fut applaudie à tout rompre, et rien ne peut être plus ridicule; cette pièce est détestable: vos parents regrettaient beaucoup de n'avoir pu l'entendre; ils peuvent s'en consoler ... Ce Beaumarchais, dont les mémoires sont si jolis, est déplorable dans sa pièce du *Barbier de Séville*.⁴³

It has often been charged that Madame Du Deffand was incapable of understanding true poetry, but her own explanation of her likes and dislikes proves that her taste conforms perhaps more closely to our modern conception of poetry than to that of the age in which she lived.

³⁷ V, 89.

³⁸ La comédie ne vaut guère mieux; elle est fort peu au-dessus d'une troupe bourgeoise, et le jeu naturel que M. Diderot a prêché a produit le bon effet de faire jouer Agrippine avec le ton d'une harengère. V, 48.

³⁹ Dramatists were not lacking in number, if in quality. "Nous comptâmes hier, l'Abbé Barthélemy et moi, combien il y avait aujourd'hui d'auteurs de tragédie vivants: vous ne le croirez pas, il y en a soixante-trois, dont plus des trois quarts des pièces ont été jouées, et toutes imprimées ... Les pièces des soixante-trois auteurs ne sont que des tragédies, dont il y en a tels qui ont fait plusieurs; les comédies n'y sont point comprises." W, II, 601-2.

⁴⁰ V, 125.

⁴¹ V, 125.

⁴² V, 145.

⁴³ W, III, 72.

Je ne me connais point en vers; tout ce qui s'appelle poésie, c'est-à-dire, comparaisons, descriptions, phébus, je n'y entends rien. J'aime les vers qui disent des choses ou expriment des sentiments, ce qui n'est que poétique est au-dessus de mon génie.⁴⁴

She sums up her opinion of the poets of the century in speaking of Saint Lambert.

Ce Saint Lambert est un esprit froid, fade et faux; il croit regorger d'idées et c'est la stérilité même; sans les roseaux, les ruisseaux, les ormeaux et leurs rameaux il aurait bien peu de choses à dire. En un mot, je ne vous l'enverrai point et c'est assez de l'ennui de mes lettres sans y ajouter les œuvres des encyclopédistes ... qui poussent leur orgueil jusqu'à croire qu'ils avaient inventé l'athéisme.⁴⁵

Among the novelists, she detests Crébillon fils in whom Walpole shows some interest.⁴⁶ She does not mention the Abbé Prévost except as a translator of Richardson. But she likes Madame de La Fayette, Marivaux and Lesage.

La Princesse de Clèves est le premier (roman) du bon genre, Marivaux l'a perfectionné, quoique son style ne doive s'imiter.⁴⁷ ... Je suis bien de votre avis sur le jugement que vous portez des romans de nos auteurs, j'aime cent fois mieux les contes arabes et persans et même les contes de fées. Ce que j'aime le mieux de nous sont les romans de Lesage, auteur de *Gil Blas*, et de Marivaux, de *Marianne* et du *Paysan parvenu*. Je ne sais que lire, les histoires ne m'intéressent point. J'ai commencé M. Gibbon. Le style m'en paraît trop oratoire, mais je n'ai encore lu que le premier chapitre.⁴⁸

Gibbon would no doubt be astonished to find himself in this Procrustean bed of novelists.

Alone of all the writers of the century, Voltaire won her almost unqualified praise and admiration. Above all she admired his style, his clear, simple, alert, inimitable style, rather than what he said, or rather regardless of what he said.

Vous ne devinerez jamais combien j'ai de volumes de vous; j'en ai cent neuf, et je crains de n'avoir pas tout, il y a une grande quantité de doubles; j'aurais ces jours-ci un libraire pour vous compléter, et pour plus grande sécurité je vous enverrai après le catalogue, pour que vous me disiez ce qui me manque. J'ai le malheur de n'être pas amusable par les beaux génies de notre siècle, ou, si vous voulez, de ceux qui ont succédé à Fontenelle et à Lamotte, qu'ils ont fort dénigrés, et qu'ils sont bien loin d'égaler ... Ils n'ont de mérite que d'avoir pris

⁴⁴ W, III, 63.

⁴⁵ W, I, 551.

⁴⁶ Les romans de Crébillon sont les mauvais lieux de la métaphysique; il n'y a rien de plus dégoûtant, de plus entortillé, de plus précieux et de plus obscène. W, I, 384.

⁴⁷ W, III, 366.

⁴⁸ W, III, 296.

vosre livrée, et je trouverai toujours entre eux et vous la différence du maître au valet.⁴⁹ ... C'est vous qui les avez créés, imitez celui en qui vous croyez, repentez-vous de votre ouvrage.⁵⁰

Her admiration was sincere but not blind. She was capable of stating a frank opinion of his work,⁵¹ of challenging his judgments, whether on the value of Corneille or on the use of a verb.⁵² Yet her correspondence with the Great Man was based on vanity alone and like all correspondence without mutual admiration and respect it was doomed to weak viability. In 1777 she writes to Walpole, "Nous (Voltaire et moi) n'avons plus de correspondance, je n'avais rien à lui dire, ni lui à moi; c'était une fatigue que je me suis épargnée."⁵³

Her letters to Voltaire are visibly forced in their compliments. For her true opinion of many of his works one has only to read her letters to Walpole. To Voltaire she says only:

Je vous fais mille et mille remerciements de votre beau présent (*Le Siècle de Louis XIV*). Je l'ai placé sur-le-champ dans ma bibliothèque.⁵⁴

But to Walpole she writes:

Je lis actuellement le *Siècle de Louis XIV* dont je ne suis pas fort contente; il n'est permis qu'à ceux qui écrivent leurs propres mémoires de raconter autant de puérilités et d'avoir un style aussi familier. Sa manière d'écrire l'histoire ne m'a jamais plu.⁵⁵

To Voltaire:

Horace rougira, si tant est que les ombres rougissent, de se voir surpassé (*Épître à Horace*) et Minos de se voir si bien jugé. (*Les Lois de Minos*) ... En vérité, mon cher Voltaire, vous n'avez que trente ans.⁵⁶

But to Walpole:

Son *Épître à Horace* que je vous envoie ... vous fera convenir, si je ne me trompe, que vous n'êtes pas le seul Horace que reçoive d'ennuyeuses épîtres.⁵⁷ ... Lékain (un acteur) ... vint nous faire la lecture des *Lois de Minos*. Ah! je fus bien confirmée que la vieillesse ne fait que des efforts impuissants; le temps de produire est passé, il ne faut plus penser à augmenter sa réputation, et pour ne la point diminuer, il ne faut plus faire parler de soi.⁵⁸

It is far from probable that either was the dupe of the other.

⁴⁹ V, 176-7.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁵¹ Je trouve que *les Guèbres* vaudraient bien mieux s'ils parlaient en prose et du même style que la préface et l'épître dédicatoire. V, 143.

⁵² Vous m'allez trouver bien impertinente mais je vous prie de corriger un vers de la *Henriade*, c'est dans le portrait de Catherine de Médicis ... Il me semble qu'on ne dit point "posséder des défauts." V, 50.

⁵³ W, III, 317.

⁵⁴ V, 134.

⁵⁵ W, II, 572.

⁵⁶ V, 209-210.

⁵⁷ W, II, 436-7.

⁵⁸ W, II, 441.

Madame Du Deffand understood no foreign languages and what she read of foreign literatures was of necessity in translation. In an age when translations were more treacherous than proverbially, when Homer was "rationalized," it is scarcely to be expected that she would have a very deep appreciation of works from abroad. She read *Don Quixote* and found it, except for the first part, boring. She confessed with some shame to liking *Amadis*. Her knowledge of the Italians is just as meagre and her enjoyment just as small.⁵⁹ The list of classical authors that she read is not long: Pliny, Ovid, Cicero, whose "sincerity" she admired, perhaps Terence. One opinion, worthy of La Motte himself, will serve to illustrate her understanding of these authors. About Homer she says:

Ne sachant que lire, je relis *l'Iliade*; ce tintamarre des dieux, des hommes, des chariots, des chevaux m'étourdit; mais j'aime encore mieux cela que la fade et languissante éloquence, la boursoufflée et emphatique métaphysique de nos sots écrivains.⁶⁰

The "inferiority" of the Ancients was established on no more weighty arguments some years earlier during the celebrated Quarrel.

In 1759 she appealed to Voltaire to suggest something for her to read. His reply was, to say the least, unexpected. He recommended the Old Testament. "Non, monsieur," she answered, "je ne ferai pas cette lecture." Twenty years later, when she was approaching her eightieth birthday, she wrote to Walpole: "Savez-vous ce que je lis présentement? La Bible. Si vous l'avez oubliée, relisez-la."⁶¹

As we might expect in a period of Anglomania, Madame Du Deffand's observations on English writers are more frequent. If France turned in the sixteenth century toward Italy, and for many years during the seventeenth toward Spain, English ways, manners and thought are the fashion in the eighteenth century. Madame Du Deffand's friendship with an Englishman is significant, and no doubt Parisian society, always cosmopolitan, gave an especially warm welcome to English men of letters, even during the years when the two countries were in armed conflict. But aristocrats then were above all men and women "of the world" and it is probable that Madame Du Deffand understood

⁵⁹ "Pour l'Arioste, je l'aime beaucoup; je l'ai toujours préféré au Tasse; celui-ci me paraît d'une beauté plus languissante que touchante, plus gourmée que majestueuse, et puis je hais les diables à la Mort." V, 43. Petrarch likewise failed to please her. "Vous avez actuellement votre Petrarque, je ne comprends pas qu'on puisse faire un aussi grand volume à son occasion. Le fade auteur! que sa Laure était sotte et précieuse! que la cour d'amour était fastidieuse! que tout cela était recherché, aguinaché, maniéré! et tout cela vous plaît! Convenez que vous savez bien allier les contraires." W, I, 409.

⁶⁰ V, 195.

⁶¹ W, III, 339.

better an Englishman of her corresponding class than she did the "roturier" philosophers, reformers and metaphysicians of her own country. However this may be, the importance of English influence on French thought and letters during the eighteenth century is preponderant and it is unnecessary here to repeat what the historians have said of this debt.

In Madame Du Deffand's case, temperament as well as training in the school of French classical writers⁶² created a barrier between the genius of the English writers she read and her appreciation of them that not even her desire to please Walpole always made it possible for her to cross. "Vous autres Anglais," she is often forced to admit, are indeed a strange people. Divided between her effort to share in Horace's enthusiasms and her incapacity to feel the merit of the authors he recommended, she shows in her judgments her embarrassed confusion. Her opinions on Shakespeare may serve as an example. After reading some of the plays in the edition of La Place, which is a series of summaries accompanied by short translated passages, she writes:

La curiosité m'a prise de relire votre Shakespeare; j'ai lu hier *Othello*, je viens de lire *Henri VI*. Je ne puis vous exprimer quel effet m'ont fait ces pièces; elles ont fait à mon âme ce que liliun fait au corps, elles m'ont ressucitée. Oh! j'admire votre Shakespeare, il me ferait adopter tous ses défauts; il me fait presque croire qu'il ne faut admettre aucune règle, que les règles sont les entraves du génie, elles refroidissent, elles éteignent; j'aime mieux la licence; elle laisse aux passions toute leur brutalité, mais en même temps toute leur vérité. Que de différents caractères, que de mouvement, de chaleur. Il y a bien des choses de mauvais goût, j'en conviens, et qu'on pourrait aisément retrancher; mais pour le manque des trois unités, loin d'en être choquée, je l'approuve. Il en résulte de grandes beautés. Le contraste de Henri VI avec des héros et des scélérats m'a ravie; tout est animé, tout est en action. Ah! voilà une lecture qui me plaît et qui va m'occuper quelque temps.⁶³

She shares the opinion of Voltaire, whose early praise in the *Lettres philosophiques* (1734) was largely responsible for making Shakespeare fashionable in France: the English poet was a "faulty" genius who, once certain lapses in taste were corrected, could be made acceptable to the French reading public. Ten years later she was still able to find some flattering things to say about the Bard in his new French dress cut by Le Tourneur. Her favorite of the separate plays was undoubtedly *Othello* which had received the compliment of being imitated by Voltaire. Of *Richard III*, in the La Place adaptation, her only remark is, "O! l'effroyable bossu!"⁶⁴ In 1776 she writes:

⁶² Je vis sur le siècle de Louis XIV. W, III, 491.

⁶³ W, I, 515.

⁶⁴ W, I, 518.

Nous n'avons de Shakespeare qu'*Othello*, *la Tempête* et *Jules César*. J'aime infiniment mieux *Othello* que les deux autres. Il y a de beaux endroits dans *Jules César*, mais aussi de plus mauvais, ce me semble. Pour *la Tempête*, je ne suis point touchée de ce genre.⁶⁵ ... Il paraît deux nouveaux volumes de votre Shakespeare; le premier contient *Coriolan*, qui me semble, sauf votre respect, épouvantable et qui n'a pas le sens commun.⁶⁶ La seconde pièce est *Macbeth*; on la lit avec horreur et effroi, et intérêt. Je lis actuellement *Cymbeline*, qui m'intéresse et me plaît.⁶⁷ ... A propos de fou, je viens de lire *le Roi Lear* de votre Shakespeare. Ah! mon Dieu, quelle pièce! Réellement la trouvez-vous belle? Elle me noircit l'âme à un point que je ne puis exprimer, c'est un amas de toutes les horreurs infernales.⁶⁸

Her final judgment shows perfectly that years did not bring Shakespeare any closer to her. Unquestionably to please Walpole, she wrote a short time before her death:

Je viens de relire *l'Iliade*, je relirai *l'Odysée*. Je trouve que votre Shakespeare a quelque ressemblance à Homère. Vous trouverez que cela n'a pas le sens commun, mais il y a une certaine hardiesse et une certaine force dans le style qui brave tout ménagement et bienséance; j'aime dans Homère que les dieux aient tous les défauts et tous les vices des hommes, comme dans Shakespeare les rois et les grands seigneurs ont le ton et les manières grossières du peuple.⁶⁹

Let us thank her for her frankness. Better than the critics, she reveals to us what the reading public of France in the eighteenth century found and did not find in Walpole's "dieu."⁷⁰

Her pleasure in reading English novels was greater and certainly more sincere. "Enfin, quoiqu'il en soit, depuis vos romans il m'est impossible d'en lire aucun des nôtres."⁷¹ Even before meeting Walpole she had read Richardson whom she defended against the sarcasms of Voltaire.

Monsieur, vous n'avez point lu les romans anglais; vous ne les méprisiez pas si vous les connaissiez. Ils sont trop longs, je l'avoue, et vous faites un meilleur emploi du temps. La morale y est en action et n'a jamais été traitée d'une manière plus intéressante. On meurt d'envie d'être parfait avec cette lecture et l'on croit que rien n'est si aisée.⁷²

⁶⁵ W, III, 200.

⁶⁶ The French have, in general, shown greater partiality to *Coriolanus*.

⁶⁷ W, III, 457.

⁶⁸ W, III, 539.

⁶⁹ W, III, 557.

⁷⁰ There is some excuse for Madame Du Deffand if we consider the translation given by Le Tourneur of one of Anthony's speeches in *Anthony and Cleopatra* (Act I, scene 2)

"O, then we bring forth weeds

When our quick winds lie still; and our ills told us
Is as our earing."

The French reads, "Oh! l'homme végète et languit sans rien produire quand le souffle violent de la censure ne l'agite pas de ses secousses. Le vent du mal que l'on dit de nous fait sur l'âme ce que le soc fait sur la terre: il la déchire et la féconde."

⁷¹ W, II, 525.

⁷² V, 39.

Less rhapsodic than Diderot, she nevertheless recognizes with him in Richardson's novels the moral value, as well as the simple details of domestic life. Fielding excels in character portrayal.

J'aime tous les détails domestiques; j'aime les lettres de Racine parce qu'elles en sont pleines. Dans les lettres de Madame de Sévigné c'est un des articles qui me plaît le plus; enfin je les préfère dans les romans à tous les grands événements et aux belles descriptions; c'est ce qui me fait préférer les romans de Richardson à ceux de La Caprenède et à tous nos romanciers.⁷³ ... Je viens de relire *Tom Jones* dont le commencement et la fin m'ont charmée. Je n'aime que les romans qui peignent les caractères, bons ou mauvais.⁷⁴

There are many other allusions to English writers throughout these letters, although they are much less indicative of Madame Du Deffand's taste. She speaks of having read Pope's letters, Gibbon, Chesterfield, Boswell (the *Account of Corsica*), Young, who had a considerable vogue in France,⁷⁵ and many others. Milton she disliked, as she did Swift.

Je viens de tenter la lecture de Gulliver que j'avais déjà lu et que même le traducteur, l'abbé Desfontaines, m'a dédié. Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait rien de plus désagréable. La conversation avec les chevaux est l'invention la plus forcée, la plus froide, la plus fastidieuse qu'on puisse imaginer. Je hais toute insinuation, toute recherche, toute affectation.⁷⁶

On Walpole's own *Castle of Otranto* she is politely evasive, finding it "fort plaisant."

It is obvious that the impressions she expresses on books are not in themselves of great weight. They have, it is true, the freshness and originality of a personal reaction to her reading experience. In what measure, then, does Madame Du Deffand represent the taste of her age and her country? If the eighteenth century is thought of as the enlightened Age of Reason, it must be owned that she had very little understanding and even less sympathy for its principal representatives, in whom she found only dogmatism, presumption and pedantry. If it is considered in its other aspect of Sensibility, Humanity, Nature, she is still less in harmony with its enthusiasms. No doubt her great age and her state of health had some bearing on her atrabilious judgments.⁷⁷

⁷³ W, I, 591.

⁷⁴ W, II, 579.

⁷⁵ J'ai commencé les *Nuits* de Young. Rien n'est plus triste, ne j'ai encore lu que deux chants; il y a un grand galimatias poétique, mais il y a du feu et des traits. W, I, 570.

⁷⁶ W, III, 609-610.

⁷⁷ Vous ne savez donc pas comment je juge. Par deux sensations, ennui ou plaisir. Si nos théâtres vous paraissent froids ou plats, ils ne valent rien pour vous. J'ai seulement fait une remarque, c'est que la disposition où nous nous trouvons influe beaucoup sur les impressions que nous recevons et par conséquent sur les jugements que nous portons. W, II, 525.

While she is conscious of the poverty and mediocrity of the literature of the period, she had no intuition of the forces which could revitalize it. She saw clearly the affectation and preciosity, the excesses of rational analysis, but she did not know what would free the poetic instinct. Even Shakespeare, though in a poor translation, was no guide to her. Perhaps we are asking too much since another fifty years were to pass before any profound change came about in the spirit of French literature.

Yet, in her opinion, all was not decadence in the eighteenth century. There was one writer who won her admiration, who embodied some of the permanent characteristics of French literary genius: clarity, simplicity, naturalness in style; an alert, skeptical intelligence; a realistic appreciation of life and people; artistry without affectation—in short, those qualities which she regarded as pre-eminently the expression of French national temperament. This man was of the same family as her other favorites, Montaigne and La Fontaine. His name was Voltaire.

GOETHE'S *FAUST* IN RECENT TRANSLATION

BAYARD QUINCY MORGAN

Stanford University

If it is a mark of great literature to act upon the prospective translator as lodestone and lure, to enlist hand after hand in an undertaking which is at the outset admitted to be only partially possible, and the success of which, relative at best, is in inverse proportion to the number of its failures—then Goethe's *Faust* must be unhesitatingly awarded that attribute. Down to the present time there have been forty-four complete translations¹ of Part I, the earliest dated 1823, the latest 1935, making an average of four translations in every decade. Also there have been sixteen translations of the much longer and much more difficult second part, three of them, strangely enough, done independently of Part I. Since 1900 there have been no less than ten translations of Part I and three of Part II; and since Bayard Taylor's translation in 1870, there have been twenty-one translations of Part I, six of Part II.

I find the last-mentioned fact significant, in view of the exceptionally high quality of Taylor's translation. It seems to me that none of the other translators of *Faust* were as well qualified for their task as Bayard Taylor. On the one hand, Taylor was a real poet in his own right; on the other hand, he had a very sensitive ear for the poetic melody and rhythm of others, and a talent for reproducing them. It may be doubted whether any future translator of *Faust* will retain Goethe's form better than Taylor, without sacrificing Goethe's substance.

After the publication of Taylor's *Faust*, therefore, it might have been considered that Goethe's poem was now adequately accessible to the English world, and that no further attempt to translate it was necessary. The very fact that the flow of translations continued almost unchecked, and has kept on without substantial diminution during the present century, is evidence that something else is at work: it is what I might call the challenge of *Faust*. Clearly, one translator after another has been caught by an urge similar to that which impels Goethe's hero to attempt to render the Bible into German. Captivated by this at once fascinating and elusive poetic texture, with its tempting rhythms and its immensely

¹ Most of the anonymous translations in the British Museum have been identified; see my *Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation*. Stanford Univ. Press, 1938.

varied and often enigmatic matter, the reader finds himself perhaps turning a single passage into English, and then, having rendered it to his own satisfaction, is little by little led on to ever more ambitious attempts, until at last another *Faust* translation is launched.

Not since 1907, when Lina Baumann published a thorough study of the extant English translations of Goethe's *Faust*, has there been any comparative examination of the field. In view of the fact that in the last twenty years nine new translations of *Faust I* and two of *Faust II* have appeared in print, it seems proper to inquire somewhat into their respective merits, if only by way of guidance for readers, librarians, students, and others interested in Goethe's poem but not well enough versed in the language to be able to understand the original text. The translations involved, with their dates, are as follows:

Andrews, W. P. *Faust I*. 1929; Buchanan, G. *Faust I*. 1908²; Cookson, G. M. *Faust I*. 1927; Coxwell, C. F. *Faust I*. 1932; Priest, G. M. *Faust I, II*. 1932; Raphael, Alice. *Faust I*. 1932; Schmidt, F. G. G. *Faust I*. 1935 (German text and English prose); Shawcross, J. *Faust I*. 1934; Todhunter, J. *Faust I*. 1924; Van der Smitten, W. H. *Faust I, II*. 1927 (with *Urfaust*).

Some of these translations offer notes, introductions, and other matter. I wish, however, to concentrate attention upon our main concern in a *Faust* translation, namely the quality of the translation itself. I propose, therefore, to pass the above versions in a brief review.

As noted above, Schmidt's translation differs from all the rest in offering a prose rendering, thus following the example set by Hayward one hundred years before. Even a prose rendering of a great poem demands exceptional stylistic gifts, and it is to be regretted that Professor Schmidt did not seek a collaborator who could have given his English a greater polish than it now reveals. Nor do I find his version as faultless as it should be. For instance, in line 277 'pathos' is not correct; in line 341, 'Ruh' means not 'rest,' but 'quiet' or 'ease'; in line 343, 'reizt' means not 'stirs' but 'prods'; in line 396, 'Wissensqualm' is translated as 'tortures of knowledge,' whereas 'Qualm' means 'mist' or 'vapor'; in line 426, 'trocknes Sinnen' is not "dull brooding" but 'sterile'; in line 583, 'Haupt- und Staatsaktion' is not a 'puppet show play,' but designates a special kind of drama.

Considering how the verse translations might best be compared, I came to the conclusion that in all fairness to these competing and contrasted interpreters of Goethe's poem, each one should at least have his say, however briefly, before I attempted any critical comment of my

² Although Buchanan's translation is earlier, I have a special reason for including it.

own. To this end I have selected a dozen lines from Faust's monologue at the beginning of "Forest and Cavern" and propose to reprint each translator's solution of the problems which it presents.

Andrews. And when the storm in forest roars and grinds,
And giant fir-tree, plunging, sweepeth down
And crusheth neighboring branches, neighboring trunks,
And at its fall the hills, dull, hollow, thunder:
Then dost thou lead me to the cavern safe,
Show'st me myself, and in my own breast, deep
Mysterious miracles reveal themselves.
And when before my vision the pure moon
Soothing ascends on high: from rocky walls
And from damp covert float and soar about me
The silvery forms of a departed world
And temper contemplation's austere joy.

Buchanan. When in the forest wildly roars the storm,
Felling to earth, in anger, giant pines,
That drag down with them headlong neighboring trees,
Till all the mountain thunders with their fall,
To sheltered hollows then thou ledest me;
Thou show'st me then myself, and in my breast
Profound and secret wonders are disclosed.
And if before mine eyes the pure pale moon
Rises with chastening light, there then appear,
From out the walls of rock and dewclad woods,
The silvery forms of spirits of the past
And soften contemplation's stern desire.

Cookson. And when the tempests roar and forests crack—
When some tall giant crashing through the pines
Fells its huge peer, and knaps enormous boughs,
And with its fall the hill peals muffled thunder,
Thou hid'st me safely in the caverned rock;
There shew'st me my own self, until the deep
Mysteries and marvels of my heart lie bare.
And at the rising of the lustrous moon
Come floating on her beams from wallèd cliffs,
From dripping woods, all silvered with soft light,
The plastic visions of the antique world,
To temper the stern joy of musing thought.

Coxwell. And when in rushing storms the forest creaks,
And the tall pine hurls down adjacent boughs,
Crushes and strips the neighbouring stems,
And, at the fall, the mountain thunders dully;
Then dost thou bear me to the sheltered cave,
Showest me to myself, while wonders secret, deep
Reveal themselves to me within my breast.

And when the pure moon soothingly mounts high
 Before my gaze: then, from the wall-like rocks,
 Out of the thicket upward hover
 Silvery forms of ages past,
 Soften austere delights of meditation.

Priest. (He follows Andrews, except for line 8:)
 And when before my gaze the stainless moon

Raphael. When through the forest the storm rattles and rages,
 Uprooting the giant pines which in their fall,
 Crashing, drag down neighboring boughs and trunks
 Whose ruin makes hollow thunder shake the hills,
 Then dost thou lead me into a sheltering cave
 And revealest me to myself and layest bare
 The deep mysterious miracle of my nature.
 And when the pure moon rises into sight
 Soothingly above me, then about me hover,
 Creeping from rocky walls and dewy thickets,
 Silver shadows, phantoms of a bygone world,
 Which allay the austere joy of meditation.

Shawcross. And when the storm breaks clattering through the forest,
 Uprooting giant pines, that in their fall
 Drag neighbouring trunks, and tear down neighbouring branches,
 While hollow thunders roll along the hills—
 Then dost thou lead me to the quiet cave,
 Reveal'st me to myself; and my own heart
 Is of deep secret marvels made aware.
 Then the pure moon rises with friendly glow
 Upon mine eyes; from rocky precipice
 And dripping bush the past's bright phantoms soar,
 And temper the austere delights of thought.

Todhunter. And when the raging storm snarls in the woods,
 And strips the branches from the ancient pines,
 Neighbours, that, bruised and shattered as they fall,
 Send a dull, hollow thunder through the hills,
 Thou leadest me to a lonely cave, and there
 Showest me myself, and in my inmost breast
 Deep and mysterious wonders are revealed.
 And when before mine eyes mounts the clear moon,
 Softening the skies above, around me hover
 From walls of rock, and from the dewy grass,
 Silvery shapes out of the ancient world,
 Assuaging contemplation's sterner joys.

Van der Smissen. When in the wood the tempests shriek and roar
 And when the giant pine sweeps neighbouring branches
 And neighbouring tree-trunks crashing to the ground,
 The hollow hill resounding to its fall,

Then dost thou lead me to some sheltering cavern,
 Show'st me myself, and the deep mysteries
 Of my own bosom are revealed to me.
 Should the chaste moon before my vision rise
 And soothe and calm me, then there hover near
 From rock-walls and from mist-enshrouded coppice
 The silvery forms of a long bygone world,
 Softening the joy austere of contemplation.

In passing judgment on these versions, I am aware of setting a very high standard, both of accuracy in interpretation and of smoothness in the resulting verse. Considering the fact that the original passage is in blank verse, so that there are no rhymes to complicate matters for the translator, and that English affords a superabundance of blank verse models in every imaginable key, we may expect superior excellence in this case.

Andrews. Two lines are rhythmically bad: 3 and 4; and 6 is not very good. In line 1, 'grinds' is doubtful for 'knarrt,' which suggests a type of sound; 'sweepeth' and 'crusheth' seem needlessly archaic; line 4 makes 'dull' and 'hollow' apply to the hills, whereas they characterize the sound; line 6 is awkward in punctuation, and 'in' is doubtful; in line 10, 'float and soar' is dubious, and 'soar' is hardly correct, since Faust is on the ground.

Buchanan. The verse is very good, but the translation is loose, compared with the others, and 'desire' in the last line is quite misleading.

Cookson. This verse too is superior in ease and flow, and has poetic quality; but his accuracy leaves something to be desired. Doubtful liberties lie in 'crack,' 'hid'st,' 'lustrous,' 'floating on her beams,' 'all silvered with soft light.'

Coxwell. The chief metrical fault here is the arbitrary shortening of lines 3, 10, 11, and the lengthening of line 6. In line 5, 'bear me' is not correct; 'thicket' is inadequate.

Priest. A change of two words gives line 8 a smoother rhythm than that of Andrews, who is otherwise followed.

Raphael. As blank verse, this is definitely inferior; the rhythms are bumpy, there are excess syllables (lines 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9), and some lines (1, 3, 11) will hardly scan at all. Despite certain redundancies and additions—'uprooting' is added, so is 'ruin'—'quetschend' is omitted; 'miracle' is not the same as the plural 'Wunder'; 'creeping' is added; the doublet 'shadows' and 'phantoms' blurs the final line.

Shawcross. On the whole, his verse is good; line 9 hobbles a bit, line 11 is hard to read. In line 1, 'clattering' is not correct; 'uprooting'

is added; 'drag' is loose; line 4 is vague; 'quiet' is not correct: the cave affords safety, not quiet; it is not clear that the 'marvels' are in his own heart; 'friendly' is inadequate; 'then the pure moon' should be 'when the pure moon'; 'bright phantoms' is doubtful, and so is 'soar.'

Todhunter. The verse is mostly good; line 6 is awkward reading. In line 1, 'snarls' is incorrect; the next three lines alter Goethe's picture, and weaken it; 'lonely' is incorrect; 'softening the skies' is a bad error; 'grass' is not correct.

Van der Smissen. Most of the verse is smooth and good; line 11 is less happy. In line 1, he loses 'knarrt' and in line 2 'quetschend'; 'should the chaste moon' is not correct; 'soothe and calm' is pleonastic.

At this point the objection will doubtless be raised that the chief difficulty which Goethe's *Faust* offers the translator is its almost continuous rhyming—and much of it feminine rhyme—combined with the largest metrical variety found in any great work in our western literature, and that no translation can be fully judged without some regard for this phase of it. I think the objection entirely sound and therefore propose to make a further comparison by taking from Faust's opening monologue a passage which presents a peculiar metrical problem.

Andrews. Woe! am I still stuck in this prison hall?
Accursèd, musty hole in the wall!
Where e'en the lovely light of heaven
Through painted panes is sadly driven!
Confined within this heap of books,
Where worm doth gnaw and dust abound,
While to the arches and in all the nooks
Are smoke-stained papers thrust around.
With boxes, glasses, 'mongst them hurled,
With instruments in cases crammed,
Ancestral lumber 'round me jammed—
That is your world! That's called a world!

Buchanan. Ah! woe is me, imprisoned still
Within these cursèd dreary walls,
Where the sweet light, that comes from Heaven,
But faintly breaks through painted panes,
While piles of books block up the room,
Moth eaten, covered o'er with dust,
Which, right up to the vaulted roof,
Are girt with paper smoke begrimed,
With glasses, cases ranged around,
With instruments together heaped,
And household chattels stowed away.
That is thy world! that's called a world!

Cookson. Why should I mope in this stony gaol—
 Accursèd den of damp and mould,
 Where the very heaven's sweet light looks pale
 Through painted windows, dusk and old?
 Penned in this close, blind, bookish styè
 Where the worm gnaws and the dust lies thick,
 With smoky manuscripts heaped high
 As the gaunt, ribbed roof of blackened brick,
 Beakers and boxes, stacked and shelved,
 Crucibles, calipers, balances fine—
 All the old lumber since Adam delved—
 If you call that a world, you may call it mine!

Coxwell. Woe! am I prisoned, still confined,
 Damp and accursed walls behind?
 Where sadly heaven's precious light,
 Reaching through painted panes my sight,
 Remains obscured by many a book
 Worm-eaten, in its dusty nook!
 Tomes 'gainst smoky paper lie
 And reach enshelved the arch on high.
 Jars, crucibles are set around,
 And curious instruments abound.
 Here ancient lumber once was hurled—
 That is thy world! O, what a world!

Priest. Ah me! am I still stuck and forced to dwell
 Imprisoned in this musty, cursèd cell?
 Where heaven's dear light itself can strain
 But dimly through the painted pane?
 Hemmed in by all this heap of books,
 Where worm doth gnaw and dust abound,
 While to the arches, in all the nooks,
 Are smoke stained papers thrust around,
 Boxes and glasses 'round me crammed,
 And instruments in cases hurled,
 Ancestral lumber 'round me jammed—
 That is your world! That's called a world!

Raphael. Ah, am I still penned in, alone?
 Damnable dungeon walls of stone,
 Where even the light of heaven wanes
 Drearily through the painted panes!
 Hemmed in by a toppling, dusty mound
 Of worm-eaten volumes without end
 Which up to the vaulted arch extend,
 With smoke-stained manuscripts around?
 With glasses and boxes, crammed and packed,
 With instruments, together hurled,
 Ancestral stuff, heaped up and stacked—
 That is your world! And what a world!

Shawcross. Ah! woe is me! still must I dwell
 In this accurst, this musty cell,
 Where even the blessed light of day
 Thro' dim panes sends a feeble ray!
 Heaped round with books in mouldering piles,
 Which worms consume and dust defiles:
 Its lofty walls from vault to floor
 With smoke-stained paper smothered o'er!
 Which jars and glasses choke and cumber,
 And useless instruments impede,
 Clogged with the past's ancestral lumber—
 This is thy world! a noble world indeed!

Todhunter. Ah! pens this dungeon still my soul?
 Accursèd, musty, walled-in hole?
 Where even the light of heaven, so dear,
 Sad, through stained windows enters here.
 Crammed by these books in monstrous heap,
 Which bookworms gnaw, which dust defiles,
 Where to the ceiling, vaulted steep,
 Reams of smoked paper are stacked in piles;
 With limbecs, boxes ranged around,
 With instruments that serve me not,
 Heirlooms, encumbering the ground—
 That is thy world! what a world, God wot!

Van der Smissen. Faugh! Still stuck in this dungeon here!
 Curst hole-i'-the-wall, so stuffy and drear!
 Where even Heaven's light divine
 Faintly through painted panes doth shine,
 Which endless heaps of books surround,
 Gnawed at by worms, with dust defiled,
 Up to the vaulted ceiling piled,
 With smoky paper stuck around,
 With glasses, boxes, set in line,
 With instruments stacked all about,
 With household heirlooms furnished out—
 Oh! What a world, this world of thine!

Before making detailed comment on these versions, I should like to point out that Goethe's stanza is marked by a striking metrical effect which might be called "leaping stress" and which consists in the use of peak accents, one or two to a line; this device is a rhythmical expression of the outburst of despair which contrasts so effectively with the resigned melancholy of the preceding stanza ("O sähst du, voller Mondenschein"). None of these translators have sensed this; at least their translations do not reveal it. May I therefore venture to insert my own attempt to reproduce the effect?

Woe! what a *dungeon* still I see,
 Accursèd, musty *masonry*,
 Where e'en the blessed *daylight* strains
 All *dimly* through the painted panes.
 Hemmed in with *books* in heap on heap,
 Chewed up by *worms*, o'erlaid with *dust*,
 Which to the very *ceiling* creep,
 With smoky *papers* among them thrust,

Andrews. The first line is hobbling and too long; 'prison hall' is not very happy; the second line is good, with a peak-stress on 'hole'; I query 'lovely' in line 3; 'is driven' falsifies the idea; 'confined' is not correct; line 7 is bad in rhythm, and 'nooks' is doubtful; line 9 is not clear, its most obvious meaning incorrect; 'cases' is dubious padding; 'lumber' is misleading; the last line is good.

Buchanan. Although he avoids all rhyme and thus frees himself from the shackles that bind the others, so that he cannot really compete with them, I have included his rendering to demonstrate the difference between a rhymed translation of a rhymed original and an unrhymed one; the latter being in a measure comparable to a black-and-white copy of a painting. Incidentally, his version is no more accurate than the best of the others.

Cookson. The first line is querulous, not explosive; 'looks pale' is feeble for 'bricht'; line 5 is padded; 'manuscripts' is incorrect; line 8 is not Goethe; lines 10 and 11 are largely Cookson; line 12 is tripping when it should be vigorous.

Coxwell. 'Woe!' is the right beginning; repetition of the prison idea weakens its effect; Goethe does not say the light is obscured by the books, and books in nooks can hardly cut off light coming in through the windows; line 7 is doubtful in sense; lines 9 and 10 are flabby; line 11 is meaningless for the situation.

Priest. The first two lines are pentameters; this dissipates the vigor of the original; 'hemmed in' corrects 'confined' used by Andrews; the remainder follows Andrews.

Raphael. In line 1, 'alone' is not a happy addition, as this is not Faust's complaint; 'stone' is likewise not pertinent; 'waned' is feeble for 'bricht'; 'toppling' is gratuitous; 'manuscripts' is incorrect.

Shawcross. The opening phrase is weak; lines 7 and 8 are misleading, and 'smothered' is quite doubtful; 'useless instruments' is not justified; the last line is too long and weakened by 'noble.'

Todhunter. The first line is ineffective; lines 3 and 4 are feeble and not quite correct; line 8 is a misinterpretation; line 10 is unjustified; lines 11 and 12 both show a struggle for a rhyme.

Van der Smissen. The first two lines are rather good, the second two tolerable; line 5 shifts the focus; 'set in line' is dubious padding, suggesting an orderliness which the original denies; 'furnished out' belies Goethe's sense; the last line muffs Goethe's effect.

A fuller scrutiny of these translations, into the details of which my space will not allow me to go, leads me to set up two main groups of them. The first group is made up of Andrews, Priest, and Van der Smissen; these are the most faithful in retaining Goethe's meaning, while they mostly write acceptable if not always inspiring verse. In the second group I place those whose verse is superior but who sacrifice some of Goethe's substance in smoothing out their meters and rhymes: they are Cookson, Shawcross, and Todhunter. The other three, Buchanan, Coxwell, and Alice Raphael, despite admitted merits, seem to me to fall below the standards one may fairly set for a translation of Goethe's *Faust*.

As I rather naturally feel that the translator's first duty is to his author, who is not really translated unless the greatest possible fidelity is achieved, my own choice would lie between the three men first mentioned. And I am minded in conclusion to offer my readers one more chance to make their own comparison. Let me then present first a translation of the same passage by Andrews and Van der Smissen, beginning with *Faust*, 903.

Andrews. From ice they are freed, the stream and brook,
By the Spring's enlivening, lovely look;
The valley's green with joys of hope;
The winter old and weak ascends
Back to the rugged mountain slope.
From thence, as he flees, he downward sends
An impotent shower of icy hail
Streaking over the verdant vale.

.

Through the cave-like, dark gate poured,
Crowds a motley and swarming array.
Everyone suns himself gladly today.
They celebrate the Risen Lord,
For they themselves have now arisen
From lowly houses' mustiness,
From handicraft's and factory's prison,
From the roof and gable that oppress,
From the bystreets' stifling narrowness,
From the churches' venerable night,
They are all brought out into light.

See, only see, how quickly the masses
 Scatter through gardens and fields remote;
 How down and across the river passes
 So many a merry pleasure-boat.

Van der Smissen. Freed of the ice are river and burn
 By the spring-tide's gracious and life-giving beams;
 With joy and hope the valley teems,
 Old winter, feeble and outworn,
 Has withdrawn to the rugged hills, it seems.
 Impotent showers of ice-clad rain
 From thence he despatches in his flight
 In streaks over all the verdant plain.

.

From the hollow gateway, dark and low-browed,
 Streams and swarms a motley crowd.
 To bask in the sun is their predilection;
 They celebrate the Resurrection,
 For they too, like the Lord, have arisen
 Out from the roofs' and gables' oppression,
 Out from their stuffy apartments' prison,
 From the fetters of trade and profession,
 Out from each narrow street and alley,
 From the church's hallowed night
 They issue gaily to the light.
 See how the multitude, nimble and merry,
 Out o'er fields and gardens sally!
 See how the river, down in the valley,
 Rocks on its bosom many a wherry!

Goethe's text has fourteen feminine rhymes; Van der Smissen has eleven; Andrews, four. In Andrews's version I find four rhythmically awkward lines; in Van der Smissen's, two. In accuracy the two break about even; Andrews misses a point in lines 4 and 5 which Van der Smissen catches in 'withdrawn'; but he preserves in 'down and across' an idea that Van der Smissen blurs in his 'rocks.' On the whole, there is little ground for giving either a decided preference.

As to Priest, he follows Andrews so closely in Part I that a citation would hardly be determinative. In the revised translation which he is now preparing, it may be assumed that he will deviate more widely from Andrews than in the present one. Fortunately, we have his version of Part II, which can be compared with that of Van der Smissen. For this purpose I choose a celebrated passage from Act V, beginning with line 11,573.

Priest. Yes! to this thought I hold unswerving,
 To wisdom's final fruit, profoundly true:
 Of freedom and of life he only is deserving
 Who every day must conquer them anew.
 Thus here, by danger girt, the active day
 Of childhood, manhood, age will pass away.
 Aye! such a throng I fain would see,
 Stand on free soil among a people free.
 Then might I say, that moment seeing:
 "Ah, linger on, thou art so fair!"
 The traces of mine earthly being,
 Though aeons pass, can perish ne'er.—
 That lofty moment I foreknow in this
 And now enjoy the highest moment's bliss.

Van der Smissen. Ay! from this maxim I will never swerve,
 The last conclusion still of wisdom true:
 He only life and freedom doth deserve
 Who day by day must conquer them anew.
 And so, by danger girt, shall childhood here,
 Manhood and age pass many a strenuous year.
 Such busy throngs I fain would see,
 On free soil standing with a people free.
 Then to the moment might I say:
 "Linger awhile, thou art so fair!"
 For so the traces of my earthly day,
 Though aeons roll, can perish ne'er.
 In the presentiment of such high bliss
 I now enjoy the highest moment—this!

Here too there is little to choose, for both versions are close and good, and it is likely that each will find critics who will prefer it to the other. Either one, I think, would give a wholly adequate impression of both the matter and manner of the original at this point.

In the unforced variety of the many attempts to find a suitable English dress for Goethe's masterpiece there is an assurance that of the making of *Faust* translations there need be no end; in the defects and even errors of most of the versions so far published, as in their lapses of metre and rhyme, there is the requisite spur to the ambition of future translators. But in the titanic challenge of the work itself lies the chief and undying lure, as in any great task which, though strictly impossible of ideal accomplishment, does not entirely forbid the thrust of an inspired and determined effort. Our spiritual life, like our physical one, has its inaccessible peaks, its unfathomable depths, its impregnable fastnesses; and one of them is Goethe's *Faust*.

AN AMERICAN PERFORMANCE OF *THE CENCI*

ARTHUR C. HICKS

College of Education, Bellingham, Washington

Shelley's only play written for the stage, *The Cenci*, has shared the vicissitudes of his other works. Rejected by his own generation on all counts, the drama has gradually won the approval of poets and literary critics until today there is little challenge to its rank as the greatest poetic tragedy in English since Shakespeare. As a reading play, then, *The Cenci* has attained an apparently secure position. But as a stage play its effectiveness has for the most part been either ignored or flatly denied, even though it has been performed with remarkable success by actresses as distinguished as Alma Murray (1886) and Sybil Thorndike (1922 and 1926). Besides these English productions, there is record of a centenary performance in Prague (1922) and two American productions—one by the Lenox Hill Players of New York City in 1926 and another by the Theatre Guild of Bellingham, Washington, in 1940.

Reviews of the three English productions reveal a violent clash of opinion among the dramatic critics concerning the play's intrinsic merits, but there is substantial agreement concerning its powerful impact upon an audience. Newspaper accounts of the premiere in London on May 7, 1886, report that for nearly four hours the audience sat entranced, listening with the closest attention and strenuously applauding every act. After the final curtain Miss Murray was called back to receive an ovation as the entire audience rose spontaneously and cheered. The lobbies rang with the praises of the departing spectators, who unequivocally pronounced the performance to be a brilliant success.¹ Similar praise is recorded in reviews of Miss Thorndike's performances nearly four decades later. W. J. Turner, for instance, writes that, although the play lasted three hours with only one interval, it held the audience "spellbound and enchanted."² He pays his respects to those critics who insist "on going to an author's work with their own idea of what he should have done and measuring it as it approaches or departs from that idea." In his estimation it is "a mockery of language" to call a play that holds the rapt attention of a theatre audience undramatic

¹ Ernest Sutherland Bates, *A Study of Shelley's drama "The Cenci"* (Columbia University Press, 1908), p. 27.

² *London Mercury*, VII (December, 1922), 201.

because it "deals with the single unattractive theme of incest and has no relief whatever from the profoundest gloom and misery—no subordinate episodes, no humour, no sentiment, no fiery Marlowesque hyperbole." The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

Other critics besides Mr. Turner have dared to accept the favorable verdict of audiences concerning the stage effectiveness of *The Cenci*. Maurice Baring says of Miss Thorndike's performance: "The drama had not proceeded far before one realized that *The Cenci* was more than a great piece of literature. The Banquet Scene at the end of Act I was drama, and drama which would be recognized as such in any time, in any place, and before any audience—and the impression of drama increased as the play proceeded."³ In the judgment of Horace Shipp, "the first public performance of *The Cenci* and its reception is an event of no small importance in the theatre. Poetic drama proved its potency; aesthetically, socially, intellectually it achieved its ends."⁴

Unfriendly critics, to be sure, have explained the stage success of *The Cenci* in England as a triumph of acting, a histrionic *tour de force* achieved in spite of the play's defects rather than because of its merits. Only actresses as highly endowed as Alma Murray and Sybil Thorndike, so they say, can make *The Cenci* acceptable on the stage.⁵ Such a contention has interesting implications. It might be used to explain away the greatness of certain playwrights whose work has been patronized by actors of genius. The argument can be easily refuted by a reference to the many recorded failures of even the best actors in mediocre plays. In any case, it begs the question and leaves the issue open. Perhaps a decision can be reached through consideration of a *Cenci* production unsupported by a great name and the fanfare of publicity at the command of the professional stage.

Such a production is the one mentioned at the end of the first paragraph, that of the Bellingham Theatre Guild. I have discovered only the briefest mention of the Lenox Hill performance in 1926, which therefore affords little evidence on either side. But I lived and struggled through every detail of the Bellingham production, and I have a tale

³ Review in *The New Statesman*, XX (November 18, 1922), 204.

⁴ "Shelley and Chevalier," *English Review*, XXXV (December, 1922), 525.

⁵ See Newman I. White, "Shelley's Debt to Alma Murray," in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXVII (1922), 411-15. Mr. White in his recent monumental biography of Shelley denies stage effectiveness to *The Cenci* because of defects in structure, the poet's lack of experience with and love for the theatre, and, apparently, the negative judgment of dramatic critics who witnessed the 1885 performance. His adverse opinion is based largely on *a priori* considerations, and leaves out of account the response of audiences, to which he refers only incidentally. See Mr. White's *Shelley* (New York, 1940), II, 141, 142, 575.

to tell. Perhaps I can also throw some fresh light upon the question of the play's effectiveness on the stage.

After my first reading of *The Cenci* in 1923 I began to cherish a desire to experience it in performance. I believed that its full power and beauty could be realized only on the stage, and it still seems strange to me that the tragedy has never been produced professionally in America, particularly during the last two decades, when poetic and imaginative dramas have been frequently seen even on Broadway. My faith, I must confess, was not shared by many of my friends and associates in or out of the teaching profession. But still I clung to my dream and at last it came true in the most unexpected manner.

My chance came in the autumn of 1936 when I was appointed chairman of the play selection committee of a community theatre group known as the Bellingham Theatre Guild, which during seven seasons had built up an active membership of about one hundred and a subscription membership of more than five hundred, developed a production program including seven major plays and several one-acts each season, and acquired a playhouse with a comfortable auditorium seating 187 and a deep though narrow stage. All Guild activities, including play direction, were conducted on a non-professional basis, that is, without financial remuneration. There was considerable variety in the choice of plays, although a large proportion of comedy was considered necessary to attract and hold the patronage of the public.

I proposed *The Cenci* for production to R. Milton Clarke, one of the younger play directors, at the first meeting of my committee. He immediately showed so much interest that I promised to lend him my copy, which he soon read. He was overwhelmed by the sombre magnificence of the drama, but was for that very reason inclined to doubt the Guild's ability to stage it worthily. Discussion went on through 1937 and until the fall of 1938, when a series of tentative reading rehearsals was held. A definite decision to produce the tragedy was not reached, however, until August, 1939, when I heard for the first time about Sybil Thorndike's 1922 performance from Professor Henry David Gray. His glowing account removed the last serious doubt in our minds concerning the stage effectiveness of *The Cenci*. The work of casting was begun and, after many vicissitudes, was completed a few weeks before the production date. Katherine Bowden, a talented young actress with experience in college, the Guild, and a New York dramatic school, prolonged her Christmas vacation three months in order to play Beatrice. Since none of our regular actors, including two with professional experience, would touch Count Cenci, I was obliged to undertake the role

myself. The problem of staging was discussed with Ronald Lund, Glenmore Jones, and Stanley Quackenbush, our three ablest stage technicians. The main responsibility fell to Lund, who in his execution of the designs achieved with severely limited means an astonishing richness of effect together with a completely satisfying flexibility. The scenic adjuncts of *The Cenci* gave us less trouble. The main difficulty in costuming was expense. In most respects we exercised a rigorous economy, but we felt obliged to dress up Shelley's play as elaborately as possible. The only other luxury allowed to the production was a special printed program of eight pages, including Shelley's own remarks about the play, a summary of literary opinion, a brief stage history of *The Cenci*, and on the cover the traditional portrait of Beatrice which was the main source of the poet's inspiration.

Parallel with work on the specific problems of casting, staging, and costuming, rehearsals were in progress. The usual rehearsal period for a Guild production is six weeks; *The Cenci* took ten. Never has a play in the history of the Guild taken such complete possession of a cast. The scepticism of other Guildsmen only confirmed and strengthened the morale of the actors. Director Clarke took great pains in blocking out each scene before rehearsal. He conceived of the tragedy as a series of pictures charged with emotional meaning by Shelley's expressive and dramatic poetry. Far from multiplying stage positions or business, he sought to bring out by a few significant movements and gestures the stately and graceful rhythm of the tragedy. He was not afraid of long speeches provided the beauty of spectacle was preserved. His other main concerns in rehearsal were line-reading and interpretation. He was full of suggestions concerning intonation, inflection, tempo, and accompanying facial expression and body position. He decided early to follow Shelley's text with a minimum of alteration or cutting. The major excision was Beatrice's long description in Act Three of the overhanging rock near the Castle of Petrella, which seriously interferes with the flow of the action. One line from Count Cenci's part and another from Orsino's were deleted for special reasons, and a few minor textual changes were necessary in adapting the four scenes of Act Four to one setting.

At last the play was ready for production; that is, the final rehearsal had been held. A spectator in the know might have written about the first performance as follows:

It is the night of March 6, 1940. The little playhouse on Prospect Street is astir and tense with excitement and anticipation. Behind the curtain actors are dressing and being made up, their faces aglow with

something besides grease paint. The director is trying to be in several different places at once, mindful of the loose ends remaining after the stormy dress rehearsal of the evening before. Only the stage men are calm, for they have the opening scene in readiness and are prepared to shift sets more quickly than the actors will be able to change their costumes.

Meantime the auditorium is slowly filling and the actors are beginning to worry about their audience. The public of Bellingham has been told many times that Shelley's *Cenci* is the greatest poetic tragedy in English since Shakespeare, that it has taken audiences in England by storm, and that the Theatre Guild is giving the play its American premiere,⁶ but not many have heard of *The Cenci* before (not one in ten is even certain of the pronunciation), they have heard weird tales of the monstrous immorality of the theme, and they have little faith in the ability of any Bellingham organization to succeed in such an ambitious project. Many are staying at home tonight, waiting to hear if this new thing is worth seeing. There is only a small proportion of literary enthusiasts among the spectators, and in order to succeed the performance will have to please many who have come in a spirit of scepticism or idle curiosity. Whether such a heterogeneous audience can or will rise to the occasion and participate in the soul-shaking experience of the tragedy is hard to say. Many of those behind the scenes have qualms when they think of the prevailing taste for light, merely amusing comedy in the Guild public. Even if the performance gets off to a good start, can the emotional tension be maintained to the end? The actors know that Alma Murray and Sybil Thorndike with distinguished supporting casts have succeeded, but in their humility they are not sure that they can do likewise. Perhaps they have bitten off too much. Some of them quail at the thought of four scheduled performances. If the first one misses fire, how can they get through three more? By 8:15 it is some comfort to know that the house is about two-thirds filled and that the audience is somewhat larger than is usual on Guild opening nights this season.

A few more minutes pass so that the last comers may be seated, the director calls, "Places!", a flash of light warns the musicians, and the curtain parts to disclose a richly curtained room in the palace of Count Francesco Cenci, with an ornate arched window in the back, two stately pillars on each side, and a high-backed chair near the center. There the Count sits in his richly embroidered black robe, one hand clutching a silk handkerchief, the other supporting his chin, sullenly gazing into

⁶ We knew nothing at that time about the Lenox Hill performance of 1926.

space, thinking his own thoughts as Cardinal Camillo with priestly unction begins:

That matter of the murder is hushed up
If you consent to yield his Holiness
Your fief that lies beyond the Pincian gate.

The audience prick up their ears at the word *murder* and listen with growing interest as the Count speaks alike to Camillo and his own conscious heart, cynically admitting that he is

what your theologians call
Hardened, which they must be in impudence
So to revile a man's peculiar taste,

making a sinister reference to the fate of the man who, like the Cardinal, once spoke of the Count's wife and daughter, and finally working himself into a sadistic frenzy at the thought of the "tears bitterer than the bloody sweat of Christ" which he wrings from his victims. As he speaks he prowls about the stage, now down left, then back, again down right, but always returning to the Cardinal, with whom he plays as a cat with a mouse. By the time the curtain closes on the lines addressed to the servant Andrea,

Bid Beatrice attend me in her chamber
This evening,—no, at midnight and alone,

the spell of the play has been established and a rustle of anticipation runs through the audience as the stage men prepare for the garden scene.

This is disclosed after an interval of two minutes, with the pillars rearranged, a graceful piece of sculpture back center, plants on both sides, and a curved bench down left. "The lovely Beatrice" mentioned by Camillo appears in a rich blue costume along with the prelate Orsino in sober gray, and the spectators receive confirmation of their suspicion that all is not well with the Cenci family. They begin to sense the combination of strength, gentleness, and intelligence in Beatrice as she gazes into the very heart of her false friend, looking there for loyalty and courage in vain, and they foresee a deadly clash between this spirited girl and her father. Several times she approaches Orsino only to be driven back upon herself, and finally she leaves him to his meditations, at once crafty and uneasy. She stirs in him both desire and fear—fear of

Her subtle mind, her awe-inspiring gaze,
Whose beams anatomize me nerve by nerve
And lay me bare, and make me blush to see
My hidden thoughts.

But the curtain closes with a renewal of his determination to take full advantage of this friendless girl.

Another short interval for scene and costume change occurs, and the curtain parts for the banquet given by Count Cenci on a very special and mysterious occasion. There is a hum of conversation in the pillared hall with its square, elaborately designed window at the rear and a table underneath set with a bowl of wine, decanters, and goblets. The guests in rich dress are standing about the hall in groups, gaily talking and laughing, when the Count in festive array enters and takes a central position with the guests arranged on either side in a V-pattern. He interrupts the hum of conversation with an effusive but sly speech of welcome, his face beaming with such unaccustomed cheer that his guests become very curious to know its cause. This he discloses with devastating effect by reporting the news of the letters from Salamanca referred to in the preceding scenes, namely, that his "disobedient and rebellious sons are dead" in consequence of their father's curse. Pretending surprise at the horror which his guests manifest, he proceeds to taunt and shock them still further by indulging in a kind of devil's sacrament, addressing a bowl of wine as though it were "the mingled blood of his accursèd sons." This is too much for several guests, who draw their swords and are about to seize him. Realizing that he has gone too far, the Count changes his tone and by a stern threat regains control of the situation. By this time the audience are on tenterhooks, and they identify themselves with Beatrice as she boldly takes the center of the stage to defy her very father and appeal for aid from the assembled guests. Somewhat disturbed, the Count pretends indifference to her words and steps to Camillo on his right, with whom he converses while she speaks. For a moment she appears to be winning in this clash of wills, but the Count, alarmed at the force of her concluding words, thereupon asserts his dominance by threats that the proudest men in Rome dare not disregard. With averted faces they withdraw one by one to leave father and daughter alone together. Another thrill of horror runs through the auditorium as the old man menaces the girl with "a charm that shall make her meek and tame" and drives her from his presence. It is evident, however, that the clash has unnerved him, and everyone watches tensely as he totters to the table, lifts his goblet, and tremblingly drinks the Greek wine, which as he speaks visibly fills his veins with "the resolution of quick youth, and manhood's purpose stern, and age's firm, cold, subtle villainy." Count Cenci as he rises to his full height, saying, "It must be done, it shall be done, I swear," is very much himself again, and the curtain closes on the first act to thunders of applause.

The momentum established is not allowed to flag, for the curtain soon opens on the second act. From the right Lucretia enters the room in the Cenci palace where her husband first appeared in Act One, followed by her weeping stepson, Bernardo, and joined a little later from the left by Beatrice in flight from her father. Her distress is acute, because after the feast of the evening before he evidently made a proposal too dreadful for utterance. She nearly loses self-control, and is only soothed by the kindly suggestions of Lucretia. For a moment of peace the three form an affectionate family group, with Beatrice seated, Lucretia hovering over her on one side, and Bernardo kneeling on the other, when the Count breaks in rudely in search of his daughter. She shrinks back and hides her face as he makes for her, resolved to overcome her late defiance, seizes her wrist, and dismisses her to her chamber with a violent thrust of his arm. Turning to the pallid Bernardo he shouts,

Thou too, loathed image of thy cursèd mother,
Thy milky, meek face makes me sick with hate!

Lucretia, left alone to bear the full force of his malice and wrath, cowers in the chair, feebly denying his charges of conspiracy and trembling at his dire threats. He taunts and bullies her to the top of his bent and ends the dialogue as he circles about her chair with orders to prepare for a journey to his Castle of Petrella, "that savage rock." Roused from a stupor of fear by his impatient gesture, she hastily leaves, and the Count is again free to commune with his own dark heart. Darkness is indeed the atmosphere of his soliloquy as he goes to the window, pulls the curtain aside to let in the "garish, broad, and peering day," and then drops it to shut out "the insolent light." The spectators are breathless and intent as he meditates:

Come darkness! Yet, what is the day to me?
And wherefore should I wish for night, who do
A deed which shall confound both night and day?
'Tis she shall grope through a bewildering mist
Of horror: if there be a sun in heaven
She shall not dare to look upon its beams,
Nor feel its warmth. Let her then wish for night;
The act I think shall soon extinguish all
For me: I bear a darker, deadlier gloom
Than the earth's shade, or interlunar air,
Or constellations quenched in murkiest cloud,
In which I walk secure and unbeheld
Towards my purpose.—Would that it were done!

Before the audience have shaken off the spell of Cenci's mood, the second scene is disclosed. It is a hall in the Vatican with pillars extending from right front to rear center and a large illuminated cross at the back. Camillo and Giacomo, an older son of the Count, are conversing as they come in from the left. The spectators relax somewhat as they listen to the young man's complaints about the tyranny of his father, but they become eagerly attentive at the sudden appearance of the crafty Orsino from between the pillars. Camillo soon departs on business and thus gives the prelate an opportunity to weave his toils about the unsuspecting Giacomo, who in his bitterness is only too ready for Orsino's sinister suggestions. And yet he shrinks from the thought of parricide, and with a yearning and heavy heart he bids farewell, saying as he goes:

I would that to my own suspected self
I could address a word so full of peace.

It is evident that while Giacomo means well, he is indecisive and does not know his own mind. Orsino shrewdly remarks, "Be your thoughts better or more bold." The brother lacks the energy of will to be found in both sister and father.

The audience now turn their attention to Orsino's long soliloquy. He throws much light, not only on his own mind and heart, but on the psychology of the Cenci family, when he says:

'Tis a trick of this same family
To analyze their own and other minds.
Such self-anatomy shall teach the will
Dangerous secrets: for it tempts our powers,
Knowing what must be thought, and may be done,
Into the depth of darkest purposes.
So Cenci fell into the pit.

Orsino then proceeds to anatomize himself, facing the fact of his own baseness, compromising with conscience by resolving to do as little mischief as he can, plotting to derive profit, but not sin and peril, from the murder of Cenci, desiring Beatrice with all the warmth of which his nature is capable, and finally assuring himself of success in his crafty designs by these characteristic words:

Some unbeheld divinity doth ever,
When dread events are near, stir up men's minds
To black suggestions; and he prospers best,
Not who becomes the instrument of ill,
But who can flatter the dark spirit, that makes
Its empire and its prey of other hearts
Till it become his slave . . . as I will do.

The act ends with the audience pondering the contrasting and conflicting villainies of Orsino and Cenci and wondering which of these two subtle intellects will prevail.

The tension which subsided in the latter part of Act Two returns with heightened force at the opening of Act Three. Again the scene is a room in the Cenci Palace. A thrill of poignant realization sweeps through the audience as Beatrice gropes in from the right, dressed in red, clinging to a pillar, her hair disheveled, with staring eyes and anguished features. The unspeakable horror has been consummated, and every spectator leans forward in his seat as if magnetized. Lucretia runs to her with a fearful curiosity, while Beatrice breathlessly asks for a handkerchief and, on leaving the support of the pillar, sinks to the floor, overcome by a sense of the most frightful loathing and pollution. For her

The beautiful blue heaven is flecked with blood!
The sunshine on the floor is black! The air
Is changed to vapours such as the dead breathe
In charnel pits. . . . There creeps
A clinging, black, contaminating mist.

For a moment she lapses into stupor, and then in a frenzy to escape from herself she loses consciousness of her identity, referring with a mad detachment to

that wretched Beatrice
Men speak of, whom her father sometimes hales
From hall to hall by the entangled hair.

But her imagination cannot shake off the late experience of "prodigious mixtures, and confusions strange of good and ill," and slowly her crazed stare alters as she comes to herself and the crushing realization that what she has gone through is not a nightmare but the most nightmarish of realities.

Why so it is. This is the Cenci Palace;
Thou art Lucretia; I am Beatrice,

she says, her voice sinking into despair and self-loathing on the last words.

The spasm of madness is succeeded by several moments of bewilderment and agonized search for escape. She first reasserts the energy of her nature in a passionate cry for action:

Ay, something must be done;
What, yet I know not . . . something which shall make
The thing that I have suffered but a shadow

In the dread lightning which avenges it;
Brief, rapid, irreversible, destroying
The consequence of what it cannot cure.
Some such thing is to be endured or done:
When I know what, I shall be still and calm,
And never anything will move me more.

But what can be done? Self-murder? No, her faith in God forbids. His decree "yawns like a Hell between our will and it." And yet she cannot "live day after day, and keep her limbs, the unworthy temple of His spirit, as a foul den from which what He abhors may mock Him, un-avenged." She seems to have reached an impasse when Orsino enters from the left. She turns to him with solemn words of explanation and appeal for counsel. Orsino's first thought is the law, but she promptly spurns the suggestion. She knows the law and its workings too well:

If I could find a word that might make known
The crime of my destroyer;
If this were done, which never shall be done,
Think of the offender's gold, his dreaded hate,
And the strange horror of the accuser's tale,
Baffling belief, and overpowering speech.
. . . . Oh, most assured redress!

The memory of the banquet scene is too fresh in her mind. And so she turns from Orsino as an unprofitable counsellor and retires broodingly to the rear. She remains deep in thought as Lucretia and Orsino talk over the situation and skirt about the edges of murder. The audience watch this scene with the most acute suspense. They sense the slow emergence of a plan to counteract the Count's triumphant wickedness and they await Beatrice's word. At last she steps forward and her eyes have a glint of determination as she speaks. She has carefully weighed the alternatives and she has made up her mind that

Forbearance and respect, remorse and fear,
And all the fit restraints of daily life,
Would be a mockery to my holier plea.

What is at stake is far more than mere life, which she would cheerfully resign. It is the integrity of her very soul, which her diabolical father seeks to corrupt and destroy. She knows that it is right to devise his death and she urges all expedition in the execution of the deed. Orsino may suggest caution, but she favors promptness and asks what are the means. Forthwith a conspiracy is hatched among the three to hire two assassins to murder Count Cenci on his way to the Castle of Petrella the next day. They have not completed their arrangements when they hear a step. In fear of the Count, Lucretia and Beatrice make a hasty

exit to the right, but not before the latter firmly reminds Orsino that the step they hear approach must never pass the bridge of which they spoke.

Orsino is thus left alone to face Cenci. He dashes nervously about the stage, quailing at the thought of Cenci's imperious look and striving to compose his features into a smile. His relief is great as Giacomo enters hurriedly in search of his father. He has further complaints to lodge and unburdens himself at length while Orsino listens. Cenci has sown the seed of unjust suspicion in the very bosom of his son's family, and the embittered Giacomo is ready for drastic action. Orsino then reveals that the Count has outraged his daughter and Giacomo is easily brought into the conspiracy. Indeed, he is so wrought up that he is willing to do the killing in person, but Orsino urges caution and the execution of the original plan. At this moment Beatrice returns and Giacomo goes to her with the sadly affectionate greeting, "My sister, my lost sister!" She has no time for pathos, but asks only for a kiss in token that he has consented to Cenci's death. The scene closes with her solemn injunction:

Let piety to God,
Brotherly love, justice and clemency,
And all things that make tender hardest hearts
Make thine hard, brother. Answer not . . . farewell.

The audience hardly have time to stretch before the second scene of Act Three begins. The setting is a mean garret room in Giacomo's house. The sloping roof is disclosed at the back with a skylight, and there is no furniture except a chair and a table with a lighted candle. The night is stormy; rain, thunder, and lightning accompany the dialogue. Giacomo is alone at first, a prey to conflicting impulses and feelings. He lacks the conviction of Beatrice that the killing of Count Cenci is a high and holy deed, and the guttering of the candle becomes for him a symbol of his father's waning life. He shrinks as his imagination conjures up "the white and yellow spasms of death," and he almost regrets his part in the conspiracy. A bell tolls and soon the step of Orsino is heard. He has news that startles both Giacomo and the audience. Cenci has escaped, and as Giacomo characteristically repents of his repentance the candle is blown out. They talk in darkness for a moment and then Giacomo relights the candle, relapsing as he does so into the mood of hesitation and fear:

And yet once quenched I cannot thus relume
My father's life: do you not think his ghost
Might plead that argument with God?

The candle has become a powerful dramatic symbol and heightens the audience's suspense over the outcome of the new conspiracy that the two proceed to hatch. Orsino by reminding Giacomo of his own and his sister's wrongs strengthens his waning resolution, and the third act closes in a mood of tense expectancy:

When next we meet—may all be done!

The audience break out into enthusiastic applause and then relax for the intermission. With surprise they discover that almost two hours have passed, but no one worries about time or anything else but the action of the play. Many wander out into the lobby to partake of coffee and to talk over the performance. Their comments filter back stage and confirm the impression already formed by cast and director that *The Cenci* is thus far a great success. The miracle has happened and the play has found a receptive audience. In a glow of triumph and confidence the actors get ready for the last two acts, which they are sure will be no less engrossing to the spectators than the first three.

With the audience once again in their seats, the curtain parts to reveal a room in the Castle of Petrella. At the back there is the effect of a turreted balcony with sections of castle wall on both sides. The only piece of furniture is a high-backed chair. Count Cenci backs in from the left. Apparently he has been trying to intimidate Beatrice and has left her alone to permit time for his words to sink in. His appearance immediately arouses the audience, who wonder what further villainy he may be meditating. He does not leave them long in suspense:

'Tis her stubborn will

Which by its own consent shall stoop as low

As that which drags it down.

To physical ravage he plans to add utter spiritual corruption. As he communes with himself Lucretia enters and is ordered roughly out of the room. Then the inspiration to make her a go-between occurs to him, and he commands her to bring in Beatrice. Lucretia delays and musters courage to remonstrate with him and to urge pity for his daughter. He is not to be moved and repeats his command. Then she tells him that Beatrice in a trance has foretold her father's death. Cenci is taken aback at this, and turning away from Lucretia reflects on his relations with the Deity. God has thus far favored him by taking off his sons Rocco and Cristofano, and he is sure that he can repent for all of his wrongs by "an easy moment's work." Yet he needs time to consummate all his purposes, which include the ruining of Giacomo's domestic happiness, the blighting of Bernardo's youth, the disinheriting of his whole family, as well as the corruption of Beatrice. Lucretia overhears him and is

startled as he begins to leave, resolving to "make short work and sure." Her feeble prevarication about Beatrice's prophecy has proved futile and she stays him by confessing the truth. This immediately reassures the Count and he sternly rebukes her, threatening even worse terrors for Beatrice. In frightened tones she asks what more he can inflict. His reply is to summon Andrea and, with a covert glance at Lucretia, to order:

Go call my daughter,
And if she comes not tell her that I come.

Then he turns directly to her and makes his intentions dreadfully explicit:

Her name shall be the terror of the earth;
Her spirit shall approach the throne of God
Plague-spotted with my curses. I will make
Body and soul a monstrous lump of ruin.

By now he is shouting and there is a wildly triumphant, almost insane look about him. His passion for evil is approaching its climax as Andrea returns with a report of Beatrice's defiant reply:

Go tell my father that I see the gulf
Of Hell between us two, which he may pass,
I will not.

Taken aback for an instant, the Count suddenly turns to Lucretia with quickened resolution and plays his trump card:

Go thou quick, Lucretia,
Tell her to come; yet let her understand
Her coming is consent: and say, moreover,
That if she come not I will curse her.

His terrific emphasis on the word *curse* startles the audience. The tremendous energy of the man seems about to display itself in full flower, and they wonder how the daughter can withstand the powerful will of her father. As he speaks he seems to receive reinforcement from on high:

The world's Father
Must grant a parent's prayer against his child,
Be he who asks even what men call me.

Lucretia soon returns with Beatrice's second defiance. There is a tense pause. Then deliberately and with a certain perverted solemnity the Count kneels, lifts his head to Heaven, and with arms and hands in an attitude of supplication begins:

God!
Hear me!

A shudder runs through the audience at these words. Now for the first time they realize the full depth and power of this man's iniquity. He

seems to be evil incarnate, Ahriman and Satan rolled into one, the diabolic force that appears to man in moments of despair to be the master of the universe. Under the spell of this impression everyone listens with bated breath.

In low tones at first but with increasing vehemence he refers to the hated loveliness and goodness of his daughter, whose sight infects and poisons him, and in the name of fatherhood invokes the direst evils upon her from the world's Father. In a flash of poetic vision he personifies Earth, Heaven, and Sun as intimate familiars, commanding them to feed her poison, to drench her with the infection of the Maramma's dew, to warp her grace to "loathèd lameness," to strike with blindness "her life-darting eyes." At this moment Lucretia desperately tries to stop him, but nothing can restrain him as he leaps to his feet and with a commanding gesture towards Heaven shouts:

He does His will, I mine! This in addition,
That if she have a child

Not only Lucretia but the audience as well rise to a new pitch of emotional tension at those dreadful words. The curse is approaching its climax, and as he speaks with uplifted head Cenci occasionally glances at his wife out of the corner of his eye to watch the effect of his words. He prays that the offspring of this unnatural union be a hideous mixture of its parents and grow up to hound her "through the clamorous scoffs of the loud world to a dishonoured grave." Then turning abruptly, with an arrogant upward gesture he commands Lucretia to bid Beatrice come before his "words are chronicled in Heaven."

As Lucretia leaves the Count visibly sags and relaxes. Intense excitement has strained even his sturdy age, and he totters to the support of a chair. He quivers in a painful ecstasy of fiendish anticipation which daunts and awes him. He is evidently relieved when Lucretia returns with Beatrice's third refusal, and is quite willing to postpone the final struggle. After dismissing Lucretia with a characteristic threat, he prepares for the welcome relief of sleep, to which he looks forward with no fears about "that most insolent of lies, conscience." But a spasm of his recent excitement returns as he reflects about the consummation of his plans:

O, multitudinous Hell, the fiends will shake
Thine arches with the laughter of their joy!
There shall be lamentation heard in Heaven
As o'er an angel fallen; and upon Earth
All good shall droop and sicken, and ill things
Shall with a spirit of unnatural life
Stir and be quickened even as I am now.

All in the audience draw a deep breath as the curtain closes, but they look forward eagerly to the next stage in the struggle between father and daughter. By this time their sympathies are more actively on the side of Beatrice than ever, and they feel in consequence that Cenci is ripe for killing. Almost immediately the second scene begins with Beatrice and Lucretia anxiously awaiting the assassins Olimpio and Marzio on the balcony in the rear. In a few minutes these hardened wretches appear. Both are dressed in rough garments and Olimpio bears on his face a large scar from a saber cut. They are grotesque in manner and speech and afford a grim sort of comic relief to the tragic situation. They twit each other about fear, but agree in their zeal to earn a thousand crowns. At this moment Beatrice and Lucretia approach and the assassins receive their instructions. Beatrice assures them that it is "a high and holy deed," but the ruffians care nothing for justice. They even lack courage, for they start at the creaking of a gate and have to be reassured by the dauntless Beatrice, who urges them to their business without further ado:

Come, follow!

And be your steps like mine, light, quick, and bold.

There follows another brief but exciting scene after a momentary intermission. Beatrice and Lucretia are waiting again, this time for news of the assassination. Lucretia is very nervous and requires support from Beatrice, who betrays no sign of flinching:

O, fear not

What may be done, but what is left undone:
The act seals all.

The assassins now return, but they have no news to bring, only excuses. In a spirit of macabre comedy they describe their hesitation and superstitious fear at the sight of the old man, "his veined hands crossed on his heaving breast," stirring in his sleep and speaking about a father's curse. The audience share Beatrice's impatience as she rebukes these base palterers, and they applaud her as she snatches a dagger and challenges the cowards:

Hadst thou a tongue to say,

"She murdered her own father!"—I must do it!
But never dream ye shall outlive him long!

Her will overbears them and they scurry out to make a second attempt. For a moment of agonized suspense the two women wait, Lucretia wishing the deed over and done with, Beatrice anticipating the immense relief that will come when she learns that

Darkness and Hell
Have swallowed up the vapour they sent forth
To blacken the sweet light of life.

Again the assassins enter and in a few words announce that Cenci has been strangled. Beatrice joyfully pays them their hire and confers on Marzio a rich mantle, assuring them the while of the justice of their deed. Suddenly with startling effect a horn is sounded. The prescient Lucretia cries, "It sounds like the last trump." Beatrice coolly rejoins, "Some tedious guest is coming," but Lucretia refuses to be comforted as the assassins flee in terror. Beatrice's serenity is undisturbed, however; with the dread of her father removed, "all ill is surely past."

The spectators are not so sure. They have forebodings as the curtain opens on the last scene of Act Four. Lucretia and Bernardo enter from the right to be met by the Papal Legate Savella. To the Legate's inquiry about her husband Lucretia replies in great agitation, attempting to put him off and finally bidding Bernardo conduct the unwelcome visitor to the Count's chamber. Beatrice enters as the Legate leaves. It is high time, for Lucretia is nearly distracted and foresees nothing but disaster for all concerned with Cenci's death. There is besides a cruel irony in the situation. The Legate had come with a warrant for the Count's instant death, and the elaborately planned and executed assassination was therefore unnecessary. No wonder Lucretia gives way. But the heroic Beatrice refuses to be afraid and resolves to face out any accusation in a serene consciousness of well-doing:

What may follow now regards not me.
I am as universal as the light;
Free as the earth-surrounding air; as firm
As the world's centre. Consequence, to me,
Is as the wind which strikes the solid rock
But shakes it not.

She is rudely interrupted by voices crying, "Murder! Murder! Murder!" Savella rushes in with his followers and Bernardo. Beatrice attempts to control Lucretia, but the latter in her agitation makes the fatal admission that she alone has the key to her husband's apartments. Savella shows eager awareness, while Beatrice hastily excuses Lucretia and takes her out on the pretext of illness. Bernardo is left to face Savella's inquisition, and what he says confirms the Legate's suspicions. He has just sent the boy out to request the ladies to return when a Guard enters with Marzio. The audience immediately sense the sombre significance of his apprehension. Marzio maintains a stubborn silence, but a note from Orsino to Beatrice has been found on him which arouses

further suspicion of Cenci's family. Beatrice with Lucretia and Bernardo re-enters at this juncture to be questioned about the note. With unshaken poise she denies any knowledge of the writing. In the examination that follows, while admitting her hatred of Cenci because of his wickedness, she denies any complicity in his well-merited death.

The spectators now perceive that the action of the play has taken a new turn. The indomitable Beatrice, after overcoming the tyranny of her father, is pitted against the forces of another tyrant, society. The career of Count Cenci has amply demonstrated that the society of her time and place tolerates injustice of the most flagrant sort. And yet she has a tremendous will to make justice prevail somehow. But how? Intuitively she denies the charges of Savella from the beginning, and as the investigation is pressed home the logic of her denial comes clear in such words as these:

What! will human laws,
Rather will ye who are their ministers,
Bar all access to retribution first,
And then, when Heaven doth interpose to do
What ye neglect, arming familiar things
To the redress of an unwonted crime,
Make yet the victims who demanded it
Culprits? 'Tis ye are culprits!

Since society's measure of justice is so crude and inaccurate, Beatrice sees that she must defend her essential innocence by the only means that society permits her, namely, the rules of evidence. Society shall never extort the truth of the conspiracy from her, for society would misuse that truth to work injustice.

But Beatrice's courage and resolution are not shared by her fellow conspirators. Lucretia shudders at Savella's order to prepare for Rome, and after a despairing speech gives way altogether. She is borne out in a dead faint while the Legate comments on her suspicious behavior. Even this collapse of Lucretia does not unnerve Beatrice, however, who still hopes that she can beat the law at its own game. She retains the sympathy of the audience as she excuses Lucretia's weakness:

She sees not yet triumphant Innocence
Stand at the judgement-seat of mortal man,
A judge and an accuser of the wrong
Which drags it there. Prepare yourself, my Lord;
Our suite will join yours in the court below.

The curtain closes on Act Four to open in a moment on the first scene of Act Five. The setting is a room in Orsino's palace with an illuminated cross in the rear and a table, at which Orsino is sitting engaged in con-

versation with Giacomo. Their dialogue is loaded with recrimination, Giacomo indulging in remorseful but vain repinings and blaming the other for leading him into the conspiracy, Orsino sullenly disclaiming responsibility and hissing out his contempt for such craven penitence. Then he changes his tune and assures Giacomo that they may yet be safe if they seize their opportunity. But the brother of Beatrice cannot leave her to face the law alone, weak as he is, and works himself into a rage, finally branding Orsino as a traitor, liar, and murderer, and drawing his sword. The wily Orsino then assumes his most unctuous manner and placates the unstable Giacomo with honeyed words. Soon thereafter the young man leaves at Orsino's direction to escape from the ministers of justice by a postern. Orsino is left alone for the last time to reveal his cunning and baseness in a soliloquy that has none of the triumphant anticipations of the earlier ones. He has sent Giacomo into a trap, but he is himself obliged to slink off in a vile disguise in order to save his own precious skin, leaving Beatrice to her fate. He does not fear detection from others, but he wonders where he will find the disguise to hide him from himself, "as now he skulks from every other eye."

The vacillation of Giacomo and the cowardly craft of Orsino set off the decision and courage of Beatrice in the following scene. It is a hall of justice with a pillar down right and black hangings on the three walls. The Judge is seated to the right and cannot be seen by the audience. He speaks with steely severity as a torturer stripped to the waist drags in the wretched Marzio. The spectators start with the realization that Beatrice must cope with this remorseless mechanism of the law, for Marzio, after a feeble denial, admits his guilt and inculpatates her along with Giacomo and Lucretia. The judge sternly orders the other prisoners to be brought in. Beatrice is dressed in white with the turban of the traditional portrait attributed to Guido Reni. They range themselves before the judgment seat while the sympathetic Camillo steps down left to watch the proceedings. Beatrice speaks for all three in the inquisition that follows. With unflinching steadfastness she denies any complicity in or knowledge of the plot, and even refuses to recognize Marzio as he recalls the terms on which he was hired to kill Cenci. She merely looks at him, but the resentment in her eyes is so keen that Marzio is daunted and remorsefully asks to be led away to death. Beatrice then speaks. She brands the trial as a wicked farce, denies the validity of confessions forced by torture, and appeals to the Cardinal to assert her innocence. He is deeply moved and approaches the Judge, pledging his soul that she is guiltless and entreating that this "most perfect image of God's love" be spared the rack. The Judge is

very reluctant to grant Camillo's request and refers to Marzio's evidence. In high indignation Beatrice now challenges Marzio to repeat his confession:

What! wilt thou say
That I did murder my own father?

Marzio is more distressed than ever and repents bitterly that the horrid torture forced the truth from him. But Beatrice is not through with him. The very existence of Marzio, she argues, proves that she did not use his services:

Do you think
I should have left this two-edged instrument
Of my misdeed, . . . that I should have neglected
So trivial a precaution, as the making
His tomb the keeper of a secret written
On a thief's memory? What is his poor life?
What are a thousand lives? A parricide
Had trampled them like dust; and, see, he lives.

Beatrice's sternness wounds Marzio worse than torture and again he prays for death. Beatrice, however, is in the full tide of her eloquence, inspired by the motives of affection for her family, self-preservation, and a passionate devotion to justice. She turns directly to the pitiable assassin and appeals to his better nature:

Think, I adjure you, what it is to slay
The reverence living in the minds of men
Towards our ancient house, and stainless fame!
Think what it is to strangle infant pity,
Cradled in the belief of guileless looks,
Till it become a crime to suffer. Think
What 'tis to blot with infamy and blood
All that which shows like innocence, and is,
Hear me, great God! I swear, most innocent,
So that the world lose all discrimination
Between the sly, fierce, wild regard of guilt,
And that which now compels thee to reply
To what I ask: Am I or am I not
A parricide?

Marzio can resist no longer. He defies the rack by shouting, "Thou art not!", is ordered back to torture, and is dragged out shrieking:

Torture me as ye will:
A keener pang has wrung a higher truth
From my last breath. She is most innocent!
Bloodhounds, not men, glut yourselves well with me;
I will not give you that fine piece of nature
To rend and ruin.

The Judge then shows Beatrice Orsino's note. She defies him and comments on the unfairness of his playing the combined roles of accuser, witness, and judge. She denies any significance to the note and demands that Orsino be brought to face her. At this moment an Officer enters with the cryptic news: "Marzio's dead." The wretch did not retract his retraction but expired on the rack. Beatrice has thus won the first battle in her struggle for life and justice, and Camillo by appealing to the Pope foils for the time being the Judge's cruel order to torture the accused. Yet the grim foreboding of tragedy returns with the concluding words of the Judge:

Conduct these culprits each to separate cells;
And be the engines ready: for this night
If the Pope's resolution be as grave,
Pious, and just as once, I'll wring the truth
Out of those nerves and sinews, groan by groan.

This court scene has profoundly stirred the audience, who sympathize with Beatrice in her bold and resourceful defense. They share her conviction of her own innocence, and they realize that she is defending herself and her family in the only way possible before a court that weighs justice in very crude scales. With unabated tension, therefore, they follow the third scene in the prison cell, which has a narrow grated window set in a thick stone wall and a bench beneath. Beatrice is asleep as Bernardo enters from the left. He is a greatly worried boy and hesitates affectionately over his beloved sister before awakening her. He is the bearer of bad news: Lucretia and Giacomo have confessed. Beatrice is angry at first and sternly rebukes the two when they are brought in with the Judge. She cannot understand how the rack could force them to the ignominy and shame of confession. The Judge's threats of torture she spurns with fiery contempt:

Tortures! Turn
The rack henceforth into a spinning-wheel!
Torture your dog, that he may tell when last
He lapped the blood his master shed . . . not me!
My pangs are of the mind, and of the heart,
And of the soul; ay, of the inmost soul,
Which weeps within tears as of burning gall
To see, in this ill world where none are true,
My kindred false to their deserted selves.
And with considering all the wretched life
Which I have lived, and its now wretched end,
And the small justice shown by Heaven and Earth
To me or mine; and what a tyrant thou art,
And what slaves these; and what a world we make,
The oppressor and the oppressed.

Beatrice's plight seems indeed hopeless, but still she denies the accusation of the Judge, who finally yields to the extent of not ordering her to the torture:

She is convicted, but has not confessed.
Be it enough.

Bernardo is now ordered away, but he resists, frantically embracing Beatrice and crying, "Oh! would ye divide body from soul?" "That is the headsman's business," replies the Officer grimly and pulls the boy away. The three accused are left alone, Giacomo and Lucretia to lament and weep, Beatrice to console and strengthen them for the approaching ordeal. At length, in a scene of the most poignant loveliness, with the stepmother's head in her lap on one side and Giacomo seated beside her on the other, Beatrice begins to croon a sad lullaby to the haunting melody of Schumann's Second Romance:

Sweet sleep, were death like to thee,
Or if thou couldst mortal be,
I would close these eyes of pain;
When to wake? Never again.
O World! Farewell!
Listen to the passing bell!
It says, thou and I must part,
With a light and a heavy heart.

The curtain closes before an audience absorbed and still. The next brief scene is enacted in a bare corridor of the prison. Camillo enters in conversation with young Bernardo. He gives an account of the Pope's cold response to the Cenci family's appeal for mercy:

He looked as calm and keen as is the engine
Which tortures and which kills, exempt itself
From aught which it inflicts; a marble form,
A rite, a law, a custom: not a man.

He considers nothing but the fact that a father has been killed and ignores all extenuating circumstances. Incest and ravage weigh less than parricide. The authority of parents must be preserved at all costs. In three cold words he seals the fate of the accused: "They must die." Bernardo protests with all his energy and resolves to make a last appeal to the Pope in person. As he rushes out Camillo sorrowfully remarks that the attempt will be futile:

A wreck-devoted seaman thus might pray
To the deaf sea.

Thus the drama reaches its culminating scene. Beatrice is caught with Lucretia and Giacomo in the cruel and tyrannical mechanism of

the law. Her only hope lies in the decision of the Pope, to whom Camillo promised to appeal at the end of the courtroom scene. As the curtain opens on the prison cell, Camillo enters and is greeted with a hasty question from Beatrice. His face betrays her destiny before he speaks:

May God in heaven be less inexorable
To the Pope's prayers, than he has been to mine.
Here is the sentence and the warrant.

Beatrice's reaction is harrowing. With starting eyes and frantic gestures she conjures up an image of death in all its stark horror:

My God! Can it be possible I have
To die so suddenly? So young to go
Under the obscure, cold, rotting, wormy ground!
To be nailed down into a narrow place.

But worse than the thought of physical annihilation is the wrenching doubt that perverts the consolations of religion into eternal nightmares:

If there should be
No God, no Heaven, no Earth in the void world;
The wide, gray, lampless, deep, unpeopled world!
If all things then should be . . . my father's spirit,
His eye, his voice, his touch surrounding me;
The atmosphere and breath of my dead life!

Her horrified imagination plays with this idea until she is on the brink of the madness that overcame her in Act Three. Lucretia tries to comfort her with "the tender promises of Christ," but Beatrice's faith in the moral order of the world is severely shaken:

No difference has been made by God or man,
Or any power moulding my wretched lot,
Twixt good or evil, as regarded me . . .
You do well telling me to trust in God.
I hope I do trust in Him. In whom else
Can any trust? And yet my heart is cold.

Giacomo in the meantime has heard from Camillo about Bernardo's last appeal to the Pope. He steps forward with the news, which Lucretia eagerly receives as a ray of hope. But Beatrice has already accepted the ultimate tragedy of her situation. She knows better than to hope for anything from the mercy of man:

Oh, plead
With famine, or wind-walking Pestilence,
Blind lightning, or the deaf sea, not with man!
Cruel, cold, formal man; righteous in words,
In deeds a Cain.

Her only refuge is a stoical resignation to the inevitable:

Come, obscure Death,
And wind me in thine all-embracing arms!
Like a fond mother hide me in thy bosom,
And rock me to the sleep from which none wake.

Bernardo enters hastily and interrupts her, but his news is merely a confirmation of Beatrice's worst anticipations, and he has come to bid her a last farewell. His voice breaks as he begs her to speak. In solemn tones Beatrice delivers her heroic valedictory to Bernardo:

Err not in despair,
But tears and patience. One thing more, my child:
For thine own sake be constant to the love
Thou bearest us, and to the faith that I,
Though wrapped in a strange cloud of crime and shame,
Lived ever holy and unstained.

Then, turning to Lucretia, she says with majestic simplicity:

Here, Mother, tie
My girdle for me, and bind up this hair
In any simple knot; ay, that does well.
And yours I see is coming down. How often
Have we done this for one another; now
We shall not do it any more. My Lord,
We are quite ready. Well, 'tis very well.

And the curtain slowly closes on this poignant scene with Beatrice, the symbol of purity and fortitude in her white robe, erect, serene, triumphant in spirit over all the evils and sufferings that have or will come to her.

Everyone in the audience has a catch in his throat as the play ends. For what seems like a long interval there is a breathless silence throughout the auditorium. Then the applause breaks out, and for the first time in years a Guild production is honored by three curtain calls. It is nearly midnight, but no one is in a hurry to leave. Shelley has held them in a spell for three and one-half hours, and as they go out the spell remains. One young man remarks as he reaches the street, "Now I know what Aristotle meant by *catharsis*."

The rest of the story may be told in a few words. *The Cenci* was a pronounced success. The newspaper review of the next evening expressed the reaction of the audience by praising the performance as "the greatest artistic triumph ever achieved by the Bellingham Theatre Guild." The second audience was larger than the first and equally en-

thusiastic. On Friday and Saturday nights the auditorium was practically filled. The play was so well received that the business manager and the director decided on a fifth performance for the following Tuesday. The total attendance was 667, which compared favorably with the total of 661 for *Abie's Irish Rose*, 668 for *Accent on Youth*, and 651 for *Ah, Wilderness!*⁷ The cash revenue taken in at the box office from the general public, that is, those who were not Guild members or holders of season tickets, was higher than that for any other production of the year. The expectations of both Clarke and myself were unimaginably exceeded. Our boldest hope was that *The Cenci* would play to small but appreciative audiences. It was indeed gratifying to place Shelley in the class of Anne Nichols, Samson Raphaelson, and Eugene O'Neill as a box-office attraction.

The conclusion that I draw from my experience with the Bellingham Theatre Guild's production of *The Cenci* should be clear from the foregoing narrative. It is that Shelley's tragedy, contrary to the opinion prevalent among literary and dramatic critics, is not properly classified as a closet drama unsuited to stage presentation. It is difficult to imagine a more severe test of *The Cenci* as a stage play than that afforded by the conditions of the Guild production. With a group of amateurs, on a small stage, with limited technical and financial resources, before average American audiences unaccustomed to poetic drama, the Guild presented *The Cenci* with a success that few if any other Guild productions have attained. I can find only one explanation for this success, namely, that *The Cenci* is a great acting drama, one of the very best of its kind. Far from being suited only to reading, it demands performance for full appreciation and understanding. The arguments against *The Cenci* as a stage play—the horror of the theme, long speeches, the emphasis on emotion rather than action, illogical plot construction, lack of interest in the subordinate characters—find their sufficient refutation in its overwhelming impact upon an audience.

How long, you professors of poetry, dramatic critics, producers, and directors, must Shelley's great tragedy await the recognition of its true quality?

⁷ The figure for the last play does not include two special, sponsored performances.

THREE ARTICLES FROM THE PEN OF CHARLES KINGSLEY

RUTH ESTELLE MATTHEWS

Centennial High School, Pueblo, Colorado

The Canon Charles Kingsley was a fairly prolific writer. W. J. Dawson, in *Makers of English Fiction*,¹ states that his works were published in twenty-eight volumes. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*² lists thirty-six volumes, and adds the comment that no collection has been made of some of Kingsley's more characteristic writings in the *Christian Socialist* and *Politics for the People*.

Perhaps equally characteristic are three articles which were published in a Colorado Springs, Colorado Territory, periodical in the year 1872, and which have apparently never been included in any collected edition of Kingsley's works. That the English clergyman should have contributed articles to an early-day Colorado publication seems at first glance quite surprising. Research, however, suggests a fairly intimate connection. On October 30, 1871, Rose Kingsley, the Canon's daughter, was met by her brother, Maurice, in Denver, Colorado Territory.³ Two days later they traveled by the newly-opened narrow gauge division of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway to Colorado Springs, where Maurice Kingsley was an employee of the Fountain Colony, which was promoting the development of a settlement at the site known as Colorado Springs. Incidentally, Miss Kingsley wrote that upon her arrival she was much surprised to find:

The streets and blocks are only marked out by a furrow turned with the plow, and indicated faintly by a wooden house, finished, or in the process of building, here and there, scattered over half a mile of prairie. About twelve houses and shanties are inhabited, most of them being unfinished, or run up for temporary occupation; and there are several tents dotted about also.

Rose Kingsley remained with her brother in the village until March, 1872, when she left to accompany General and Mrs. William Palmer on a trip to Mexico City.

Miss Kingsley had written that on the first of January a Mr. and Mrs.

¹ W. J. Dawson, *Makers of English Fiction* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1905), p. 179.

² *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ninth edition, XIV, 89.

³ Rose Kingsley, *South by West* (London: W. Isbister and Company, 1874), pp. 43 ff.

Liller had reached Colorado Springs from England. Presumably they had been acquaintances of the Kingsley family while in England. On March 23, 1872, *Out West*,⁴ Volume I, Number 1, a weekly edited and published by J. E. Liller, came off the press. Its pages were unnumbered. The first leaf consisted of advertising material. The second leaf contained the following announcement:

In our present number we publish the first of a Series of
Letters From The Old Country
By the Reverend Charles Kingsley,

to be followed by similar Contributions every two or three weeks. The Letter which we now publish was written several weeks ago, in the expectation that *Out West* would make its appearance about the beginning of the year, but many circumstances have combined to cause delay. Next week, we shall publish a second letter, which has just come to hand, on the subject of the Alabama Difficulty. Mr. Kingsley will write upon matters Social, Literary, Scientific, and Political, especially in their *International Aspect*, and we sincerely echo his wish that his valuable letters may increase peace and goodwill between the two great Nations to which they will have special reference.

In all there are four articles by Kingsley in the weekly, *Out West*, all appearing within the first four months of the paper's issue.⁵ In addition to those already mentioned there was published on May 16, 1872, a two and one-half column tribute titled "Frederick Maurice. In Memoriam," introduced by the statement:

⁴ *Out West*, edited and published by J. E. Liller (Colorado Springs, Colorado Territory). There is no known complete file of this publication in existence. Coburn Library, Colorado College, in Colorado Springs, possesses two incomplete files. Publication ran as follows: Volume I, Number 1, March 23, 1872. There was no issue the following week. Volume I, Number 2, April 6, 1872, and numbers 3, 4, and 5 in the consecutive weeks following. On May 2nd there was again no issue. Number 6 was published May 9, 1872, and numbers 7 through 21 appeared in consecutive weeks thereafter. Again on August 29th there was no issue, the September 5th paper carrying an apology and stating that an accident to the presses had prevented publication the previous week. The September 5th issue is, however, numbered Volume I, Number 23. The paper came from the presses then weekly until December 26th, which issue was numbered 36, as November 28th and December 5th numbers both bore the notation. Volume I, Number 34.

During the first six months of the next year *Out West* was discontinued. In July, 1873, *Out West, New Series*, Volume I, Number 1, a monthly, began publication. There were six issues of this series, one each month, with the exception of December. The final issue was numbered Volume I, Number 6-7, and was dated December, 1873,—January, 1874. No copy of the publication for October, 1873, is known to be extant.

⁵ In the June 13, 1872, issue there was included an article called "Mexico and the Mexicans in 1872," by Rosa Del Monte. A second article followed in the Nov. 14, 1872, number, and a third in the Nov. 21, 1872, issue. These were reprinted in the *New Series* in July, August, and September, 1873, respectively. A fourth was presumably in the non-extant October issue, for the November paper contains Number 5 of the series. Number 36 of Volume I, *Out West*, off the press on December 26, 1872, had carried a note to the effect that the articles entitled "Mexico and the Mexicans in 1872" were from the pen of Rose Kingsley, daughter of the Reverend Charles Kingsley. Later the five articles here mentioned were incorporated, in somewhat modified form, in Miss Kingsley's book, *South by West*.

Canon Kingsley has favored us with an early proof of an article from his pen, . . . written for *Macmillan's Magazine* of the present month.

Comparison of this article with that entitled "Frederick Denison Maurice. In Memoriam"⁶ shows it to be the article as published in Macmillan's, cut by Mr. Liller in publication, the cuts being nine in number, scattered throughout the article, and varying in length from one sentence to three short paragraphs, the last three paragraphs having been omitted.

The fourth article, published as number three in Kingsley's projected series, appeared in the issue of June 20, 1872. It was an informal essay, entitled "The Americans at Chester."

In the belief that students of English literature will find these Kingsley letters interesting, the three unpublished other than in *Out West* are here included. As the tribute to Maurice is elsewhere available, it has been omitted.

LETTERS FROM THE OLD COUNTRY

By

Charles Kingsley

Author of Alton Locke, Hypatia, Westward Ho, etc.

No. 1⁷

My Dear Editor.—At last the Prince is recovering, and I can breathe freely enough to fulfil my promise to you, of giving you, from time to time, news of things and people here in England. Happy shall I be, if my letters form one more link of cordiality and mutual understanding between two Peoples who are one in race, one in genius, and—as I fully believe—one at heart, and whose differences have been only those which so often arise between a father and a son, when both are full of high spirit and original energy. How often, as the son rises into manhood, rivalries and misunderstandings arise, and how often, too, do we see those rivalries and misunderstandings die out as father and son learn, by experience, to trust and admire each other, and to let each other go, either his own way. The son of twenty and the father of five-and-forty did not know each other's relative position, relative value; the son of five-and-forty and the father of seventy regard each other as equals, and—proud of each other's success and tolerant of each other's peculiarities,—agree to live and let live, having discovered, with the wise Yankee, that "It takes all sorts to make a world." So it will be, I verily believe, between America and Great Britain, and the two

⁶ From *Macmillan's Magazine*, May, 1872, as reprinted in: Charles Kingsley, *Literary and General Lectures and Essays* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1890), pp. 337-349.

⁷ *Out West*, March 23, 1872, n. p. That Kingsley was at this time taking an active interest in health questions is evidenced by the fact that he delivered in 1872 at the Midland Institute, Birmingham, a lecture on "Physical Education" from which he compiled the essay, "The Science of Health." Charles Kingsley, *Sanitary and Social Lectures and Essays* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1892), pp. 21-45.

Peoples will, as it were, supplement each other—each exhibiting one side of the Teutonic Genius, each teaching the other by example, and encouraging it towards progress by a noble and affectionate rivalry.

And this may be the case, though neither America become, socially and politically, more like Britain, nor Britain more like America.

Of the latter coming to pass, there seems at this moment less chance than ever. The outburst of old-fashioned loyalty to Royalty which the illness of the Prince of Wales has called out, proves that Britain has, for the time being at least, no intention whatever of becoming a Republic. "It has thrown back Democracy," said a solitary malcontent to me the other day, "for five-and-twenty years." I replied that it had probably thrown back the sham Democracy of a few Demagogues; but not that true Democracy dear to the Englishman, which seems to him not incompatible with Royalty. The small ultra-Democratic here is all but frightened into temporary silence. The Nation, it is clear, loves Monarchy for its own sake, and is determined to uphold it. And they are wise in their generation. I say this, and my countrymen feel it, without the least disparagement of the Republicanism of the United States. That is not only a necessity, but a safe necessity. The United States, whatever their form of government, must be, for ages to come, one of the most truly conservative, settled, and law-abiding people in the World; and for this simple reason: that in no Country of the World is there a Yeoman Class (Farmers, as the Americans unfortunately mis-call them) so numerous, and so well informed. A Country of small landholders, and those educated men, and with the power (owing to the vastness of her soil) of adding indefinitely to their numbers, America ought to be always peaceful, always free, always vigorous and young. But our Yeoman Class has all but gone; our land has, by simple natural tendencies of "political economy," accumulated in a very few hands, and will do so more and more, and, if it were parted among the masses, by an Agrarian Revolution, it would not suffice for a quarter of our population. The only form of Republicanism, therefore, possible for us, is that of French Communism; a government, in fact, by the workmen of the great towns; and how different that system is from the American, the French Democrat knows well, where he sneers at the United States as a "Republic without Republicans." John Bull, therefore, has said to himself, "I cannot be like America, for I have not half a Continent whereon to settle; I will not be like France, as long as I have an ounce of power or a foot of steel left wherewith to protect my property and myself." But as to America, just now, John Bull is looking with cordial respect and affection; and that affection, I may say, is heightened (for John Bull has a vein of sentiment under all his hardness and covetousness) by the very graceful sympathy which America has shown of late about the illness of the prince of Wales. Instead of laughing at us as Monarchical sentimentalists, the American People and Press have, as far as I have seen, understood and respected our intense anxiety and pain to a degree which we had no right to expect, but for which we are really grateful. The solicitude expressed for the Prince of Wales by Americans residing in England has had a strong and wholesome effect towards drawing the two nations closer together; and I doubt not that many English have felt what I felt deeply last Sunday when I saw some American ladies joining in the public prayer for the Prince, quite as fervently, it seemed to me, as the English congregation around them.

And certainly, if not last Sunday, at least the two Sundays before it, he needed all our prayers. Telegrams and the Newspapers have, I take for granted, put you in possession (sic) of the main facts of his illness. But this you may hold for a fact that three times, at least, during three weeks, his life hung upon a thread. Nothing humanly speaking could have saved him, not even the admirable science and care which were lavished on him, had it not been for the innate purity and vigor of his constitution, which enabled him to rally again and again after paroxysms which (as a clever medical man said) would have killed forty-nine men out of fifty. He has, therefore, by his own gallant—and we may trust now, triumphant—struggle for life, given the lie to those ignorant and slanderous persons, who used to report that he had injured his health by late hours and what not. The fact is—and it is a fact—that no man could have been in finer health than he at the very moment the poison struck him. At the Camp and the Sham Fight, a few weeks before, all who knew him had remarked on his evident good condition, delicate complexion, cheerful spirits, power of enduring fatigue, and other signs of health, remarkable even in him, who has never had a serious ailment; and that good condition had been kept up by the out-door toil, which is by no means light—of the Shooting Season. Native health and strength, by Gods (sic) grace have saved him. The Disease seems to have left behind it no painful *Sequelae*, or after-maladies; and there seems no reason to doubt (unless some sudden catastrophe occur of which there is no sign) that he may, in a few months, become as strong as ever, and as likely to live to a ripe old age; likely, meanwhile (it may be hoped) to lead great movements—if not political ones, for they are forbidden to our monarchs—yet, what is now even more important, social movements; and to gather round him, on behalf of the oppressed and miserable, spirits as gracious and generous as his own. If this illness of his should issue in placing him at the head of a National Crusade against Preventible Disease, and if it should make him and others with him, determine that, so help them God, the next ten years shall not see—as the ten years since the death of his Father have seen—two hundred thousand souls perish needlessly in these realms of the same fever as has stricken him down; then, generations yet unborn may bless the memory of a Prince who sickened as poor men sicken, and all but died as poor men die, that he might learn to deliver the poor of his realms from dirt, disease, and death.—Ever Yours,
Eversley, Dec. 20, 1871.

C. Kingsley

LETTERS FROM THE OLD COUNTRY

By

Charles Kingsley

Author of Alton Locke, Hypatia, Westward Ho, etc.

No. 2.^s

My Dear Editor.—I am bound to give you some notion of public feeling in Britain just now, about these “Alabama” Claims, and the painful mistake which seems to have been made by one or both sides.

^s *Out West*, April 6, 1872, n. p.

I think the leaders in the *Times* represent very fairly what we think on the matter. The people are vexed; but not angry. The statement which is (I read) put forward by some of the American papers, that the tone of the English Press is "furious," is, so far as I have seen, a simple falsehood, invented, I suppose, by persons interested in sowing ill-will between the two Countries. People, I say, are vexed, but nothing more. They are vexed at being asked to pay money which they never intended to pay; vexed with those who settled the Treaty for not having worded it so clearly as to bar all "indirect" claims; vexed, because they thought that they had been acting towards America with extreme and unprecedented courtesy: first, in allowing a new and *ex post facto* interpretation of International Law, and next, in not demanding—as they surely had a right to do—indemnification for the Fenian Raids into Canada; and, lastly, people are vexed with themselves, for having been stupid and careless, and allowing themselves—so some of them hold (it seems to me, on the evidence of Mr. Smalley's letters in the *Times*, quite untruly)—to have been outwitted.

They are vexed, too, by two rumors, both of which I trust, are unfounded. The one is, that these "indirect" claims are put forward not *bona fide*, but merely as home political capital for the next Presidential Election. The other is, that the "indirect" claims have been bought up by private speculators, and are being pushed by them for mere money making purposes. If either of these tales is true, some persons or other are committing a grave moral offence, which ought to be indignantly repudiated by the honor and honesty of the American Nation.

On the other hand, there is throughout Britain a very honest conviction that we have not behaved well about this whole "Alabama" matter—a conviction in which I share as fully as any man alive—and a very honest desire to make the *amende honorable*, if it can be kept within "honorable" bounds; for, while we respect and admire the national pride of the Americans, we have a national pride of our own, and we think that the Americans will not admire and respect us the less for asserting it.

It is whispered now that the Americans want Vancouver's Island, on account of certain Coal Mines therein. If so—though I have no wish to see the Queen's dominions diminished—yet, I think I should be quasi-unpatriotic enough to say: Take it and welcome, if its cession will really and honestly put an end to miserable squabbles between two Nations who ought to be marching shoulder to shoulder in the same path, and whose interests are, and always will be, identical; take it and do your best with it; you will develop its resources far more fully and rapidly than we. We have as much territory already as we can manage, and that far too widely and too dangerously scattered over the world; and it is a dog-in-the-manger policy to keep that which we cannot use, especially when we can gain by ceding it, the solid blessings of peace and friendship.

Meanwhile, it is for the interests of America, as well as of Britain, that this uncertainty should cease as soon as possible. The present state of things must hinder the free flow of British capital (and our wealth just now is enormous) to the far West, and so check seriously the development of your own Colorado and of the other Territories. If England has been somewhat of a goose, she is still laying golden eggs: and it will be a bad policy to try to kill her in order to get them all at once.

I have no fears but that all will ultimately come right. All will be done by our

statesmen, which is consistent with our honor; nothing, which is inconsistent, and I am bound to have sufficient faith in American Statesmen to believe that they will do, ultimately, nothing inconsistent with their own honor, though all the speculators and the Fenians in America were trying to thrust them from the strait path. I am bound to believe this, in the face of the very honorable words attributed to the President by Mr. Smalley, in his letter to the *Times* of February 15th in which the President is made to say that even if the English award at the Geneva Arbitration should exceed the American award, his nation would pay it.

Meanwhile, I cannot but agree with the *Times* that we are exactly in the position described in President Buchanan's message to Congress, on the 8th of December, 1857,—on the Clayton Bulwer Treaty—and that we shall be wise in taking his advice. He said: "It is not too much to assert that if, in the United States; (sic) the Treaty had been considered susceptible of such a construction, it could never have been negotiated under the authority of the President, nor would it have received the approbation of the Senate." Putting Great Britain for America, this is the fact in the present case. And President Buchanan spoke, it seems to me, the words of common sense, as well as of sound statesmanship, when he went on to say: "When two Nations like Great Britain and the United States, mutually desirous, as they are, and, I trust, ever will be, of maintaining the most friendly relations with each other, have unfortunately concluded a Treaty which they understand in senses directly opposite, the *wisest course is to abrogate such a Treaty by mutual consent, and to commence anew.*"

In case this wise advice is followed, we shall be able to discover, I trust, in these realms, negotiators who will at least understand their native tongue.

C. Kingsley.

LETTERS FROM THE OLD COUNTRY

By

Charles Kingsley

Author of Alton Locke, Hypatia, Westward Ho, etc.

No. 3.—*The Americans at Chester.*⁹

Our old Roman City of Chester sees now, almost every day, a fresh party of American visitors, who turn aside hither, almost as soon as they have landed at Liverpool, to see, most of them for the first time, an ancient and historic city. Very pleasant to our citizens is the eager reverence with which they look around our walls, rows, and churches; and not unpleasant, we hope, the attentions which we citizens delight to shew to Americans, whenever they make themselves known to us. Not that they are to consider themselves the least in our debt for such attentions. Their society would be a quite sufficient repayment for any trouble which we may take for them; even if, over and above, their admiration for Old England did not flatter our insular vanity; and we are vain of Old England, and hope to remain so.

⁹ *Out West*, June 20, 1872, n. p.

The old Walls,—Roman, Mediaeval, Seventeenth-Century—for the Roman Wall was repaired by Edward the First, and that again by Charles the First; the relics, scant enough, alas, of Roman or Monastic buildings; and, above all, the Cathedral, attract them. They view with surprise (indeed, to many of them, the fact is so novel that they cannot at first be made to take it in) a building even now under repairs which will cost nearly £40,000, with a staff, clerical and lay, of some forty persons, kept up at a considerable yearly expense, mainly, if not entirely, for the worship of God three times every day, with ceremonial and elaborate music, whether there is a congregation or not; and that the week-day orisons, only attended by a few devout persons, are as necessary an element of its existence as the Sunday services at which from one to two thousand assemble. It is a novel idea to them—a “service” of mere worship, without teaching; but one which they appreciate heartily when once they understand it. The building itself too, seems to charm them, even more than it does us English, too much accustomed to such work; and we clerical hosts have sometimes to check the enthusiasm of our guests, and say: “But, kind ladies and gentlemen, this is only a poor little Cathedral, of which we are half ashamed; there are half-a-dozen far finer ones in England, and fifty on the Continent; such admiration will be better bestowed on them.” So I had to say the other day, but in vain, to two most agreeable and cultivated young gentlemen—Baptist ministers from New England—when they burst out: “But this is a national monument, this ought to be preserved by the State.” Precious plainly in the eyes of these Americans,—for however cultivated, they are quite honest and unaffected—are the first illuminated manuscript, the first piece of mediaeval wood-carving, even the first piece of old iron scroll-work; simply because it is old. Precious are Wolsey’s arms and cardinal’s hat carved on a boss; precious a real thirteenth or fourteenth century room; still undefaced and unrestored; more precious still, to judge from their faces, a few rough ugly arches which date as far back as Hugh Lupus, First Earl of Chester, and nephew of William the Conqueror. What is old Hugh to them, or they to him? Something which they cannot, perhaps, define in words, but which is yet real and potent.

“Why?” I asked of a charming lady who was expressing delight and wonder merely at old houses—“Why?”

“Because everything is so old, and we have nothing old in America.”

“Nothing old? Have you not the rivers and the mountains and the forests, to which all this is but a mushroom crop?”

“Yes,” and yet No. What she craved for she could hardly express; but it seemed to me that it was not the mere soulless antiquity of Nature; before that the strong young spirit could stand up unabashed and say: “Thou art old; yes, but dead. And I am immortal, and alive.” Not that; but the antiquity of human work, good or bad, wise or mistaken; for that is alive and venerable, with the souls of the men who wrought it—men of her own race; it may be, men of her own kin. This seemed to be her thought, or rather her instinct; and, as I talked with her, and indeed with sober and business-like American men, likewise, I could believe the story (*se non e vero, e ben novalo*) of the American who said, on his first visit to York Minster: “Ah, if we could transport this to America, we should hear no more about the Alabama claims. (sic)

Mere sentiment, some will say. To the wise man such expressions will seem

no sentiment at all; but the honest out-come of a deep human common sense. Child-*like* they are, but not child-*ish*; proofs that the American heart is, at bottom, young, healthy, and truly manful; auguries for the future of endless good. For, without reverence for antiquity, no nation has as yet become great: that is, has added permanently to the sum of human knowledge, virtue, and well-being.

I have tried to analyze this eager reverence of the Americans for Old England, and, indeed, for all antiquity—a reverence which is so noteworthy in all the best American writers; and in none more than in Mr. Longfellow; and which does not interfere in the least (as in Mr. Longfellow's case) with their reverence for all which is strong and healthy, fresh and pure, in their own Trans-Atlantic life; and at the root of it seems to be the consciousness—I am going to use what may seem to be a platitude, but which is none—that they, too, are civilized men; that is, men who share in all past civilizations and are the fruit of them; that, though they be (as I believe Americans to be, if they will be true to themselves and their calling.) (sic)

“Heirs of all the ages, foremost in the ranks of time,” yet they are such, not by being cut off from those past ages, not by being able to look down and repudiate them: but by being literally their heirs, by inheriting all that man has wrought or thought well from the beginning—not merely from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, not merely even from the old Hebrews, but from the Middle Ages, the Romans, the Greeks; and by feeling, as they do feel, that they can enter into their inheritance, only by loving and respecting their fathers, as they seem very heartily to do, and as, let them be sure, the Old Country loves and respects them at heart, and will do so more and more, the more intercourse there is between the two countries.

Americans say, and with truth: “If you want to understand and like us, you should come and see us.” We answer: “And if you want to understand and like us, you should come and see us.” The fact is, we are both of us nations of islanders, for North America is as yet, both by geographical position and by her history, only a larger island than Great Britain. Both of us have the faults of islanders: a tendency to narrowness, fastidiousness, belief in our own solitary perfection. But that defect will, I believe, so far as the relations between the two nations are concerned, soon pass away. We are the same people; we speak the same tongue; our surnames—truest test of race—are the same; and the more we know of each other the more we shall find that our instincts and intellects are the same, that we see with the same eyes, and feel with the same hearts, that the only permanent difference which ought to remain between us is this—that the one nation should be the complement of the other and learn from the other: that as America should learn from us—what the cultivated persons of whom I have been writing have learnt—faith in, and reverence for, the magnificent Past, so Britain should learn from America faith in, and reverence for, the magnificent Future.

C. Kingsley.

WILHELM DILTHEY'S ANALYSIS OF CHARLES DICKENS

ADOLPH ZECH

University of Missouri

Philosophers and literary critics ever since Plato have devised critical theories and guides for appraising the works of literary artists. Every age seeks new values and devises new methods whereby to find these values. The history of literary criticism is the history of men who have worked out systems of critical methods for an up-to-date interpretation and evaluation of literature. Advances made in experimental and theoretical psychology, in aesthetics and philosophy become essential tools of the critical theorist, both for the analysis of a literary product, and for the endeavor to evaluate the artist and to discover the mysteries of the creative process.

With the advent of modern psychology, scientific methods, and historical perspective, the nineteenth century scored great advances in literary criticism. Germany produced Wilhelm Dilthey, a philosopher and critic who died in 1911 in his seventy-eighth year after a long and productive career at the University of Berlin. But not until after his death did he come to be recognized as the leading literary critic of the nineteenth century. Dilthey's achievement was to found a new school of literary criticism on the postulate that the critic must approach a work through a complete understanding of the author, his time, and his previous history. In other words, the critic is to think himself into the author's life, re-experience what the author experienced, and thereby understand his works.

For the purpose of orientation let us briefly examine a few of Dilthey's cardinal principles. The starting point of his theory lies in his conception of history as life. The historical world, he says, is composed of individual lives. These are responsible for all cultural and spiritual manifestations such as art, literature, religion, philosophy, law, history—in short, all creations which owe their existence to the human mind. These mental products Dilthey termed "Geisteswissenschaften." He clearly differentiated them from those branches of knowledge which deal with the study of natural or objective phenomena and which he called "Naturwissenschaften."

This separation of the sciences was Dilthey's greatest achievement, and the laying of a firm and unitary foundation for the "Geisteswissen-

schaften" constituted his greatest task. He made careful analyses of the expressions and the manifestations of life, and these he found most clearly represented in literature. The creations of the writer and the poet, Dilthey realized, are expressions of connected life-experiences: the poet interprets life, and from his works the life of his time can be reinterpreted.

Dilthey regarded history as life, and life as the capacity for experiencing. It follows, then, in his chain of logic, that individual experience is the chief element both of history and of life. Since all creations of the human mind are dependent upon life and history, these creations must be composed of experiences. The analysis of human cultural achievements required a methodology different from that applied to the natural sciences. In view of this need, Dilthey set out to separate the natural sciences from the cultural ones, and accomplished this objective in the first volume of his works, entitled *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften*. For the study of the "Geisteswissenschaften" he built the structure of his critical theory, governed by the cardinal principles of experience, expression, and understanding. Experience constitutes the principal content of all literature.¹ The artist experiences actually or vicariously. Within the bounds of his artistic capacity, the writer expresses his experiences according to the principles of the creative process. Dilthey says that understanding does not precede expression but follows it; hence the creative process is necessarily a subconscious one. The critic must use the historical and psychological method of approach and must endeavor to understand the author's time and his life. The theory of understanding is paramount in Dilthey's conception of criticism. By means of a recreative process, aided by a thorough knowledge of the author's time, the critic must re-live the author's experiences and thus come to an understanding of his works. In following Dilthey's method, the critic assumes an exceedingly difficult task. He must know not only the author's time and the conditions which affected him, but also his emotional composition and his psychological complexities; in short, the critic is to understand a literary work through a recreative process, and his final goal is to understand the artist better than he understood himself.

Dilthey was particularly fond of English writers. Nearly all of his works reveal his kinship with English thought and his acquaintance with English philosophy, historiography, and literature. His knowledge of

¹ An experience may be defined as a person's contact with reality including mental, emotional, and temporal awareness and adding to his knowledge of objective reality. See Wilhelm Dilthey's *Gesammelte Schriften* (Vols. I-IX, XI-XII. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1914-36. Hereafter cited as G. S.), V, 172, 243, 245; VI, 161; VII, 278, 334.

English writers, as shown by his frequent allusions to them, is founded upon a critical understanding of their works. Dilthey's attitude toward English men of letters reveals that he was attracted to them by forces innate in his character, by a spiritual kinship, as it were, with the English mode of thought. His favorite English writers are Shakespeare, Dickens, and Carlyle. In Dilthey's references to these men in his collected works and in his essays about them, we find the essential elements of his critical theory.

Particularly in the life and works of Dickens, Dilthey found ample data, both biographical and autobiographical, whereby he could establish the relationship between the narrator's experiences and the expression of them in his novels. From the same data, Dilthey abstracted material to illustrate the creative process of the narrative artist.

In the following pages we present Dilthey's analysis of Charles Dickens with special reference to the creative process, in which Dilthey shows how the narrator transforms objective experiences into his novels.

We have no definite records to show when Dilthey read the works of Dickens. It appears that he was thoroughly acquainted with them in 1877, when an essay appeared in *Westermanns Monatshefte* entitled "Charles Dickens und das Genie des erzählenden Künstlers."² This article is based on Dickens's works and on John Forster's *Life of Charles Dickens*, translated into German by Friedrich Althaus.

In the biography of Dickens and in his autobiographical testimony, Dilthey found excellent material for an analysis of the narrative genius as well as for explaining a literary product on the basis of life and experience. True, Dilthey wrote this essay some time before he had developed his critical theory and about six years before the publication of his *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften*. We note, however, that he proposed the essentials of his experience theory as early as 1877, even though he had not yet devised the terminology for it. In the same year he wrote his famous essay entitled "Goethe und die dichterische Phantasie," and his works on Lessing and Hölderlin had appeared ten years before. Hence, his essay on Dickens contains the building blocks for his later critical structure.

Moreover, in Dickens's case Dilthey found excellent autobiographical material revealing a healthy and sane artist, quite in keeping with his view that a genius is a sane and healthy individual:

Concerning the nature of the narrative artist, we have hardly a case on record so instructive as the information about Dickens. In Dickens the genius of the nar-

² *Westermanns Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte*, XLI (1877), 482-99 and 586-602. Braunschweig: G. Westermann. Hereafter cited as W. M.

native artist works with marvelous originality, hardly at all modified by any concurrent intellectual trend.³

Wherein, we may ask, lies the nature of the creative genius, and how does Dilthey illustrate its manifestations in Dickens? According to Dilthey, the qualities of the genius lie, above all, in the range of his experiences. Equally important is the ability of the genius to receive impressions and to retain them. The creative imagination, he says, is dependent upon the retention of impressions and manifests itself in the reproduction of images and experiences. Hence genius is gifted with exceptional powers of observation. On the basis of Dickens's autobiographical statements, Dilthey draws the following comparison between the methods of observation practiced by the genius and the ordinary individual. If he is not meditative, the average person regards objective reality as a multiplicity of data which he uses to satisfy his needs. Such data serve to orient the individual in his search for satisfaction. He passes through life in the pursuit of so-called happiness in the same manner as a person hurries along the street in order to do an errand in a distant shop. The houses and gardens by which he passes are no more to him than signs by which he measures and determines his way. The genius, on the other hand, can be compared with a traveler, regardless of his destination, who views and examines everything he meets for its own sake, and who concerns himself with the inner essence of things. His object is to comprehend and to interpret; he is able to enjoy the present and to give himself over to observations without being affected or restrained. A genius, therefore, whether of literature, philosophy, or the sciences, enjoys the privilege of retaining a fair portion of childlike immediacy of observation and reaction. Dilthey illustrates this capacity by the genius of Dickens, who was able to recall incidents and characters from his early youth. The recollections of *David Copperfield*, for example, which extend back to the time when he was learning to walk, are Dickens's own impressions. The literary genius, therefore, differs from the ordinary person, above all, in his capacity for multifarious experiences, in his ability to retain them, and in his gift for recreating these experiences in the artistic process. Endowed with a faithful memory, the artist will retain, assimilate, and express his experiences. In these processes he is guided and constrained by a keen interest in life and humanity, an interest which the literary artist shares with the painter and sculptor.

Along with the gift of keen observation, Dilthey realizes in Dickens an extraordinary ability to examine himself while observing others. In

³ W. M., XLI, 483.

the process of observation and introspection the novelist was able to forget those elements which pertained to his own life. He examined himself and then applied the results to his characters; he observed others and made their experiences his own while he infused into them his own emotions. Moreover, Dickens had the rare opportunity to exercise this ability by coming into close contact with all phases of London life. In this native ability and the opportunity for its use, Dilthey sees a combination essential for the narrative genius.

Closely connected with the gift of observation in the literary artist is his capacity for emotion and empathy. Dilthey observes the gamut of feelings and powerful emotions in Dickens. His genius is composed of elements which feel keen sympathy with the inner nature of individuals and of humanity as a whole. The inventive ability, which we call genius in the narrower sense, is always conditioned by a fusion of the psychophysical capacities. Dilthey inclines to the belief that the specific qualities which make for literary genius lie, above all, in the force and intensity of feeling and in the degree of interest expended upon those impressions which deal with characters and their destinies. Herein, no doubt, lie the makings of a lyric poet, whose powers and emotions are conditioned by the intensity of the feelings which he experiences. The artist's relation to his imaginary characters, Dilthey points out, is quite comparable to his relationship with real people. Dickens, for example, lived with his characters as though they were real; he suffered with them when they approached a catastrophe; he feared the moment that would bring about their destruction.⁴ A literary work produced with intense feeling creates in the reader not only the semblance of real life, but also the intense emotions which the artist has experienced in the creative process. Dilthey asks: "What else are the elements of all literary creation, of the tragic, the sublime, the emotional, and the comic, if not the various ways in which our emotions can be aroused by an infinite variety of fates and characters?"⁵

The great narrator lives in an imaginary world of actions and characters. Particularly important for him is the degree of intensity with which his characters and their destinies affect his emotions, and his ability to produce this same intensity of feeling in his readers. The ability to be deeply stirred by fictitious and real events and characters and to transmit these feelings with equal intensity to his readers is the great gift of Dickens. Herein Dilthey sees still another cardinal quality that characterizes the narrative genius.

⁴ Wilhelm Dilthey, *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung: Lessing, Goethe, Novalis, Hölderlin* (10. Auflage. Leipzig und Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1929), p. 187; cf. G. S., VI, 134-35.

⁵ W. M., XLI, 601.

Dilthey illustrates through Dickens the powers and the methods of the great narrator. Under the influence of feeling, the artist enhances the elements of his subject matter, both in intensity and in scope. A simple letter of Dickens, Carlyle, or Kingsley, for example, shows like an enlarging mirror a nervous intensification of reality. In their descriptions the cliffs appear steeper, the meadows greener. On the same basis, Dilthey seeks to explain what he calls that peculiar English humor which consists of exaggeration: now reducing subtle elements to mere shadows, now increasing strong elements to the verge of the fantastic and the bizarre. In Dickens and Shakespeare this effect is increased to a point resembling photographic enlargements or the use of artificial lights.⁶

Acute observation, good memory, and interest in as well as sympathy for humanity are qualities which the literary artist shares with the historian and the philosophical interpreter of life. The literary genius, Dilthey points out, possesses, in addition, a powerful inner excitability and a wide range of feeling which color his impressions and experiences and aid him in the artistic representation of reality. With the aid of his memory, the artist conjures up characters and incidents; his feelings intensify and vivify them. However, his most outstanding gift is the power of creative imagination. Dilthey analyzed this creative ability in a lecture entitled "Dichterische Einbildungskraft und Wahnsinn,"⁷ in which he described the creative imagination of the literary artist as the great gift of creating outstanding and lasting characters. Equally strange are the mental processes of the artist. He imagines characters and situations as vividly as though he had perceived them through his senses. Hence they have for him the vividness which characterizes hallucinations. He lives with his creations as with real beings and feels their pains as his own. He identifies himself with his heroes and feels, thinks, and speaks through them. In order to confirm this method of artistic production, Dilthey cites ample testimony from great writers. The creative process, he says, requires an active and a passionate participation on the part of the writer and is not to be confused with the popular conception of literary craft. Biographical research in the lives of dynamic writers, such as Goethe, Dickens, and Byron shows that they are equipped with such powerful sensory organs and with such an irresistible inventive urge of the imagination that their psychological make-up appears mysterious to us and that their inner processes remind us again and again of dreams and insanity.⁸

⁶ G. S., VI, 174.

⁷ This lecture was delivered in 1886. G. S., VI, 90-102.

⁸ G. S., VI, 93. Cf. W. M., XLI, 491.

The power of imagination, Dilthey points out, enables the narrative genius to think in terms of characters, destinies, and incidents, rather than in terms of abstractions. This phenomenon is essentially the same in Cervantes, Goethe, or Dickens: it is inherent in the nature of the great narrator. The great artist occupies himself constantly with his creations; he endows his characters with life, and they in turn possess reality for him. A literary product invariably reflects the life and reality of the artist's time—that is, life transformed by the imagination of the individual artist. The essence of art, Dilthey states, must not be sought in an ideal world, but in life itself. Art is manifest wherever life and reality are represented; art, however, neither copies nor explains reality. In other words, art is present wherever a presentation becomes fixed in form or material for the purpose of satisfying the interest of the participant aside from the application to reality, wherein Dilthey realizes the essence of all artistic representation, be it the idols produced by primitive Negroes, the rudimentary ornaments of the Eskimos, or the greatest creations of Shakespeare, Michelangelo, Goethe, or Raphael. All art has one quality in common: the pleasure derived from the representation of reality.⁹

If we apply the foregoing conception of art to the literary artist and, in particular, to the art of Dickens, Dilthey implies that the function of the literary genius is to transport life and reality to a higher level. Dickens, for example, does not imitate, but rather intensifies and exaggerates reality. The exaggeration of virtues, of course, tends toward idealization, whereas the exaggeration of base characteristics in the villains leads to the grotesque, the diabolical, and the ugly. The great humorous writer, Dilthey asserts, endeavors by his grotesque inventions and characters to transport the reader beyond reality. "The grotesque element so frequently criticized in the characters of Shakespeare, Rabelais, and Dickens really ennobles their art."¹⁰ Dickens, moreover, achieves an aesthetic effect by the admixture of the evil and the ugly in some of his characters. His worst villains possess a certain grandeur due to the exaggeration of their diabolical characteristics.¹¹ While the writer creates characters and situations which transcend reality, he must, invariably, draw his elements and prototypes from real life.

Dilthey emphasizes, however, that the artist must avoid bringing his personal interests to bear upon the material from which he draws. The implication is that an artist must keep his mind free from prejudices and personal concerns. We translate the following statement:

⁹ W. M., XLI, 601.

¹⁰ G. S., V, 278.

¹¹ G. S., VI, 214.

It behooves every artist that he live in perceptions and images without regard for the practical range of whatever goes on about him, also without regard for the theoretical understanding of any part of reality. It is peculiar to him that perceptions and images from any part of the world, in themselves, stir, fulfill, satisfy, and animate his emotions. It must be characteristic of him that his feelings and inner agitations are strong and deep; however, they must not be tied to his personal interests, but rather relate to the objective world.¹²

It follows that all art in Dilthey's meaning is the expression of experienced reality. The characters produced by the artist's imagination will resemble real beings. The manner in which the artist conceives and represents his characters depends upon his individuality. This individuality, Dilthey says, we may call either the artist's treatment or the inner form of his work and technique.¹³ It is necessary, however, he asserts, to consider the writer's inner experiences which account for the entire substance of his creations and determine the horizon of his artistic vision. These inner experiences arise from contemplating one's own actions.¹⁴

Thus it appears that as early as 1877 Dilthey had probably conceived and developed the essentials of his later critical theory. Now let us examine how he relates Dickens's works to his experiences. It has been shown that, in the analysis of the creative genius, he realized in Dickens both the prerequisites and the ideals of the narrative writer. Likewise, he saw in Dickens's works the manifestation of art as experienced reality. Dickens's ample testimony concerning his life and methods of artistic creation supplied Dilthey with invaluable material for the exposition of his "Erlebnis" theory. In the essay "Goethe und die dichterische Phantasie," Dilthey says:

Dickens's letters and the facts about his life give us an insight into the workshop of this artist. He appears to be a genius whose entire life was spent in actual experience, in most accurate involuntary observation of whatever new ranges of experience presented to him; who, hurrying through many occupations and positions—as a lawyer's scribe, as a reporter in parliament and in the country—was in a position to submit ever so many facts to his observation; who so thoroughly studied prisons and insane asylums of most European countries along with their good society that no life of a literary artist in Germany can be compared with his. Linked with this are his impetuousness, the terrible mistakes of his feverishly working mind, his indifference to any higher development of his own personality and to every higher intellectual occupation. And all this is the exterior of a life filled with happiness and grief in his coexistence with the char-

¹² W. M., XLI, 602.

¹³ We notice here that Dilthey takes up the highly significant concept of the "inner form" which may be traced back to Shaftesbury and the Neo-Platonic aesthetics.

¹⁴ W. M., XLI, 599.

acters who are formed out of this experienced material: he was given over entirely to external observations.¹⁵

The great creative writers, Dilthey asserts in his lecture, "Dichterische Einbildungskraft und Wahnsinn," were not idle onlookers of life, but active participants in life's joys and sorrows.¹⁶ In his treatise "Bausteine für eine Poetik," he commented upon the wealth of impressions and experiences which Dickens used as masterfully as Rubens used his colors.¹⁷

Dilthey traces Dickens's experiences and the development of his imagination to his early childhood. Dickens's acquaintance with want and suffering in his youth developed in him a profound sympathy for the sufferings of others. Life's trials and sorrows constitute the main theme of his works. His inclination to interpret and to represent characters and situations was developed in his childhood by his reading of English masterpieces and by his contact with real life. In the imagination of the young Dickens reality and the imaginary world of books fused into a new whole. This rich and vital compound of fiction and reality is to be found in the best parts of his first-rate novels. Dilthey states that no other writer had ever described the experiences of his youth in a manner comparable to that of Dickens, because no one equipped with such powers of observation has ever experienced similar conditions. In one section of *David Copperfield* he penned those impressions which are accepted by his biographers as autobiographical testimony.¹⁸

In his essay "Goethe und die dichterische Phantasie," Dilthey quotes a statement by Dickens, showing how reality and imagination merged in the mind of the young novelist:

Goethe and Dickens alike tell how from early childhood on literary characters intermingled with their real lives. "It is curious to me," says Dickens, "how I could ever have consoled myself under my small troubles (which were great troubles to me), by impersonating my favorite characters in them. . . . I have been Tom Jones (a child's Tom Jones, a harmless creature) for a week together. I have sustained my own idea of Roderick Random for a month at a stretch, I verily believe. . . . Every barn in the neighborhood, every stone in the church, and every foot of the churchyard, had some association of its own, in my mind, connected with these books, and stood for some locality made famous in them."¹⁹

The world of the imagination afforded young Dickens a refuge from the hardships of his early life. The years of his youth and adolescence

¹⁵ *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, p. 202.

¹⁶ G. S., VI, 97.

¹⁷ G. S., VI, 137.

¹⁸ W. M., XLI, 488.

¹⁹ *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, p. 207; quoted from John Forster's *The Life of Charles Dickens* (London: Chapman and Hall, Limited; and Henry Frowde), p. 9.

impinged upon his sensitive mind in a mélange of want and humiliation. On the other hand, the first period of Dickens's life was characterized by his gradual and determined rise above adverse conditions along with the development of his artistic capacities. However, he never sought to escape life. He was receptive to the sordid as well as to the humorous side of existence and experienced both fully, with curiosity and interest. His contact with vice and sordidness neither debased nor corrupted his mind. He learned good from evil, kindness from abuse, and idealism from adverse social conditions and institutions. His experiences were rich and varied, and his emotions intensified and colored his experiences. The novels of Dickens are a faithful interpretation of London and England, of people and situations that played a decisive part in his life. "Dickens always placed special emphasis on presenting the reality of English life."²⁰ In *David Copperfield*, for example, he presented an artistic portrait of himself. "The trials of the famous couple, Mr. and Mrs. Micawber, were those of his parents, and the sufferings of the young David were his own."²¹

Dilthey credits Dickens's success as a novelist both to his inborn capacities and to the peculiar conditions found in his life. Want and poverty gave him that keen susceptibility to human suffering which inspired him with the ardent zeal of a reformer. His innate artistic capacities and his sane view of life, however, subordinated his social reform to art. It seems as though fortune was kind to him when he was given the invaluable opportunity of serving as a reporter and stenographer with English newspapers. This activity gave Dickens a realistic training which counterbalanced his predilections for pure art. He prepared himself for the task of becoming the epic narrator of English conditions in the first half of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, his journalistic training had a definite effect upon his works. His first publications appeared as sketches. This fact, Dilthey believes, influenced his novels. His practice of writing his novels in monthly installments, together with his hasty production, was of considerable influence on the inner form of his works. Every issue had to be effective so as to take a new hold upon the reading public. Again and again he faced the task of producing concentrated effects of humorous, stirring, or overpowering nature. Every time his main characters appeared on the scene, Dickens had to recall their characteristic traits to his readers. At the same time, he observed that his characters made an ever greater impression upon his public. This realization incited him to greater efforts. His position was akin to

²⁰ W. M., XLI, 586.

²¹ W. M., XLI, 492.

that of a story-teller who is spurred on by the interested and attentive faces about him. This method of writing, no doubt, induces the author to employ special means to fulfill the expectations of his readers. Dilthey speaks of this tendency in his "Bausteine für eine Poetik": "Under these influences, literary products have changed entirely, and also have been rendered inferior. Great narrative geniuses, such as Dickens and Balzac, have adjusted themselves far too much to the needs of a public that craved reading material."²² According to Dilthey's analysis, Dickens's tendency to overwork his characters and to exploit his situations is his greatest weakness—a weakness noticed by a small minority of critical readers; but an advantage from the point of view of his reading public.²³

Dickens's method of writing, then, is largely affected by the conditions which influenced his early life. In a greater measure, Dilthey sees in the art of Dickens the expression of experiences. We recall Dilthey's experience thesis by an apt quotation: "Every living work of considerable proportions draws its material from experience and actuality and expresses in the end only experience emotionally charged and generalized."²⁴ In his critical references to Dickens, Dilthey points out actions and characters and traces them to the author's experiences. Dickens's constructive imagination transformed life into art and created a new reality in which situations taken from life stand out in relief. Dilthey cites an illustrative example from the *Pickwick Papers*:

.... However, when in the fifteenth installment he made Pickwick and Sam Weller inmates of the debtor's prison, when the entire force of his most powerful childhood memories seized him, standing before him constantly in the most vital characters and scenes: there he created for the first time that mixture of humor and tragic feeling through which he drew up, at least for the novel, the same ideal which Shakespeare had established for the theater.²⁵

Since the literary artist takes his material from life and reality, it naturally follows that he becomes passionately interested in the social problems of his time. Dickens lived in a period of social unrest and readjustment. His life was affected by maladjustments that cried for reform, and he was fitted by nature and experience to write the novel of sociological problems. In his first novels he depicted London life and society. Dilthey attributes the origin of the sociological novel to Dickens. The French novelists failed to fulfill the artistic requirements of this type of literary expression:

The materialistic novel from the school of the *Comédie humaine* as far as Flaubert and Zola is fiction without a victorious hero, crisis without actual dénoue-

²² G. S., VI, 105.

²³ W. M., XLI, 598.

²⁴ G. S., VI, 206.

²⁵ W. M., XLI, 586.

ment. The sociological novel originated for the first time in the profound heart of the great Dickens, who sympathized with the child, the feeble-minded, and the poor.²⁶

Sympathy for human suffering, which colors Dickens's experiences, pervades his major works. His novels of the London period represent the conflict between the noble and the evil elements inherent in contemporary English civilization. His earliest novel in which social sympathy and social reform constitute the central idea is *Oliver Twist*. The main theme of this novel is the representation of crime and criminal institutions, a theme which met with severe criticism in England. Dilthey justifies Dickens's intentions as follows:

Dickens has been reproached for having made the dens of crime the subject of literature in this novel. But he could justly reply that he had tried to perform a service to society by this very act of showing up the catastrophe of crime. Moreover, his treatment differs from that which we meet in the contemporary French novels. Crime in Dickens never appears heroic, and even before he is discovered, the criminal is always shown in his entire wretchedness.²⁷

In his essay "Dichterische Einbildungskraft und Wahnsinn," Dilthey attributes to the great artist the tendency to be attracted by the monstrous and the extraordinary in human nature. It is characteristic of the great writer, he says, that he produces characters who exceed the bounds of all experiences, but enable the reader better to understand and appreciate ordinary experiences. For this reason the creative imagination is mysteriously attracted by the two extremes in human nature: by great deeds of terror or crime, and by extreme gentleness and kindness.²⁸ Dilthey notices in Dickens an extraordinary preference for the peculiar in character and traces this preference to his activity as a journalist:

The preference for savage, eccentric, or low characters, for the strange and the queer which produce temporary anomalies in the conditions essential to life, the firm and the deft hand for rounding out scenes, and the perceptible clearness of his characters: all of this is due in Dickens to the course of his earlier years and the nature of his former occupation. So much was he a journalist and a reporter in his early period that the thought of the effect upon the reader never left him for any length of time, not even in the innermost workshop of his creative process.²⁹

Dickens's tendency toward exaggeration is especially pronounced in *Nicholas Nickleby*. This novel, Dilthey says, grew out of Dickens's sad experiences at school and shows his bitter resentment toward his teacher, depicted in Squeers. As a boy, Dickens suffered under a school discipline which hampered the development of his active mind, suppressed

²⁶ G. S., VI, 241.

²⁷ W. M., XLI, 588.

²⁸ G. S., VI, 92.

²⁹ W. M., XLI, 598.

his keen imagination, and forced his attention from voluntary to arbitrary and artificial concentration. As a result, he developed such a profound hatred for school training that the abuse of a child's mind became one of the leading topics for social reform in his works.

Dilthey traces the prototypes of Dickens's characters, for example Nickleby, Squeers, and Ralph, either to Dickens himself or to people of his acquaintance. Experience and imagination, according to Dilthey's analysis, are the woof and the warp of Dickens's novels dealing with London life. The years prior to his travels mark the period of his artistic development. In the following quotation, Dilthey characterizes the Dickens of this period:

Very acute observation of reality, an inexhaustible humor springing from a spirit of true effervescent joy, and a passionate ardour turning against all types of suppression and hypocrisy: these are the basic traits of Dickens in this period. The artist in him had not yet developed completely, and he himself was still quite unfinished; what he had experienced was yet too recent; his knowledge of higher intellectual and social life was still incomplete: under these conditions his writings of these years lack all perfection. The artist who later created the wonderful description of the storm in *David Copperfield* is seen vaguely in the depiction of the last journey and the end of Ralph.³⁰

Furthermore, Dilthey notices in Dickens's early career a lack of characterization and a tendency toward caricature. In the drawing of noble characters, Dickens is extravagant in the highest degree and shows the lack of true ideality. He had not yet acquired the experiences and the maturity which mark the subtle delineation of character in his later novels. In the portrayal of Uriah Heep, for example, Dilthey observes only slight improvement over the depiction of Squeers and Ralph, but notices an immeasurable advance from the characterization of the brothers Cheeryble to that of the kind aunt in *David Copperfield*, or again, from the passive and suffering figure of Katie to the feminine ideal of Agnes. Nevertheless, in Dickens's later novels, those characters which lack subtle development show this advance over earlier types: evil does not triumph over good. In *David Copperfield*, for example, the evil personified in Uriah Heep is rendered harmless by humorous treatment. The reader clearly feels that the snares of intrigue can and will be destroyed long before the villain is exposed. One quality Dilthey observes in all of Dickens's works: the ability to stir the reader's emotions by his characters, a quality due to his profound observation and understanding of life.

It is characteristic of the narrative writer, says Dilthey, that his im-

³⁰ W. M., XLI, 590.

agination draws material from reality and social life. The more a writer depicts his time, the greater is his desire for increasing the range of his experiences in order to acquire new and varied material for the expression of life. This desire induced Goethe to undertake his travels to Italy, and the same force compelled Dickens to enrich his scope, to augment his experiences, and to increase his understanding by travel in the United States and on the Continent. It is significant, too, that in those countries where Dickens traveled he came into close contact with various phases of social life. He visited factories and public institutions as well as social circles. In 1846 he spent three months in Paris. Here he frequented prisons and the morgue, places where crime and misfortune can be studied. However, when two pages were lacking on an installment of a novel dealing with English life, he rushed back to London, wrote them there, and again returned to Paris.

The urge for experiencing, for increasing the store of knowledge about life dominated Dickens wherever he went. He was never an idle onlooker, never a passive participant, but ever alert, active, and interested in all manifestations of life. He used in new novels the material he had gathered, and as the horizon of his experiences widened, he produced works of lasting merit, filled with deep understanding, seasoned with sympathy for human frailties, and imbued with the zeal for improving social conditions. Faith in humanity, idealistic outlook on life, and ardent desire for exposing the evils present in the social system characterize the later years of Dickens's life. His art grew out of life and his time. He transformed his experiences into lasting expressions which reflect the time, conditions, and people about him.

Dilthey's work on Dickens is fragmentary. The essay in *Westermanns Monatshefte* consists of two parts. A third part, promised at the end of the second, did not appear. Hence his treatment does not include the mature period of Dickens's writing. The references in his works to Dickens are casual and disconnected. Taken all in all, the material available does not permit a thorough study of Dickens's novels on the basis of Dilthey's theory. We have seen, however, that in so far as he treats Dickens's novels, he applies the essentials of his own critical theory. Dickens's autobiographical statements served for Dilthey's analysis of the creative process; his novels, on the other hand, gave a clue to the inner nature of Dickens as well as to his time. Dilthey uses Dickens's works as a means of approach to the understanding of the novelist. Even though the essay on Dickens is one of his early works, it corresponds in essence with his later criticism. In the notes of his later years he says that the experience of a writer along with the process of ex-

pressing these experiences can be completely understood only if seen through his finished product. If all the works of a literary artist were lost and we had nothing more than his testimony concerning his method of artistic production, this testimony would tell us very little indeed. We must analyze his works in order to penetrate into the inner workings of his process and to grasp its totality.³¹

Hence, the means necessary for understanding the writer lie in his works. Moreover, the works of great narrators mirror the intricate cultural and emotional complexities of the age they represent. "The forces active in the writer's imagination are to be found in life."³² In Dickens's creations, the expression of experiences is an active force which illuminates his time and gives the reader an intimate understanding of life and reality. As early as 1876 Dilthey said in reference to Dickens:

In order to learn how certain conditions of culture produce effects of historical importance, we consult archives; but if we wish to learn how such conditions influence the disposition and the acts of private individuals, we shall have to search for the answer first of all and always in the works of the great narrative artist.³³

Dickens's novels revealed to Dilthey the effects that cultural conditions exerted upon the lives of the English people in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, Dickens was among the first writers from whom Dilthey abstracted evidence for his theory; and likewise Dickens was one of the first to whom he applied his "Erlebnis" theory. The following quotation from "Goethe und die dichterische Phantasie" applies in every detail to Dickens:

Thus at the basis of literary creation we find personal experience, understanding of extraneous conditions, and expansion and deepening of experience through ideas. The starting point of literary creation is always life's experience, as personal experience or as understanding of other people, both living and dead, along with their interrelated events.³⁴

³¹ G. S., VII, 321.

³² *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, p. 179.

³³ W. M., XLI, 586.

³⁴ *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, p. 197 f.

THE LITERARY METHODS OF A CRITICAL REALIST

JOHN C. McCLOSKEY

University of Oregon

"I have no mission, no purpose, no cult," said David Graham Phillips.¹ "I am just a novelist, telling as accurately as I can what I see, and trying to hold my job with my readers."² Throughout Phillips' twenty-three novels this idea recurs. He was, in his own mind, the blunt truth-teller, the impartial, objective journalist who reports accurately and realistically what he sees.

Nevertheless, he did have a cult, a purpose, and a mission. His cult was naturalism; his purpose was exposure; and his mission was reform based on an ideology compounded of democracy, nationalism, and socialism.

From the beginning of his writing career Phillips was a realist. His early experience in newspaper reporting was supplemented by little realistic, documented sketches in the manner of Zola.³ These beginning exercises in the realist technique, "The Union of Broadway and Sixth Avenue," "The Bowery at Night," "The City's Back Yard," "A Walk on Seventh Avenue," for example, appeared as early as 1891 in *Harper's Weekly*⁴ and other periodicals. At this time he was one of the *New York Sun's* best reporters, and his assignments gave him a splendid opportunity to prowl into the various nooks and corners of city life.⁵ Such journalistic experience provided this class-conscious reporter just

¹ 1867-1911.

² Isaac F. Marcossan, *David Graham Phillips and His Times* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1932), pp. 284 f.; John C. Underwood, *Literature and Insurgency* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914), p. 186. Cf. Phillips, *The Husband's Story* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1910), p. 372.

³ At De Pauw University Phillips read much French literature, especially Balzac and Zola. Marcossan, *op. cit.*, p. 30. He kept, moreover, an eight-volume edition of *Clarissa* on his desk. "If a man wants to write novels he can not do any better than study Richardson," he said to Marcossan. "He may seem old-fashioned but he knew better than most how to build up and maintain suspense which is the most important part of novel technique." *Ibid.*, p. 288. The bulk of his reading was in classic prose. "In poetry he fervently worshiped Keats, next to whom he placed Shelley. He held the 'Ode to the Nightingale' to be the greatest lyric poem in English, and Shelley's 'Ode to the West Wind' the next." *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴ XXXV (March 7—September 19, 1891), 177, 210, 302, 367, 390, 442, 465, 710.

⁵ Frank M. O'Brien, *The Story of the Sun* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918), p. 360.

the kind of material that a realist of the type of Balzac or Zola could best use. He says in *The Husband's Story*:

I fear that I weary you, gentle reader. There is in my sentiment too much about wages and flat rents and the smells that come from people who work hard and live in poor places and eat badly cooked strong food. But that is not my fault. It is life. And if you believe that your and your romancers' tawdry imaginings are better than life—well, you may not be so wise or so exalted as you fancy.⁶

In 1906 he wrote to his sister, Mrs. McLelland: "I try not to think of life as it should be, but of life as it is."⁷ That is the keynote of the Phillipsian technique.

Reality was, indeed, a cult with Phillips. In his analysis of the types of fiction, he rejected historical and idealistic fiction as the romanticizing of poets and novelists who do not present life as it is;⁸ he said of Sophy Murdock in *Old Wives for New*:

She abounded in sentimentality; so she liked as a counter-irritant and solace the love story about life as it is not lived—though romance readers and the whole "literary" cult do strive valiantly to try to live it that way.⁹

He particularly abhorred the romantic high-life novel, so avidly devoured by American women, because of its silly ideas of life and because of its sloppy and tawdry claptrap.¹⁰ Realistic fiction, he insisted, fiction that deals with life as it actually is, is the only kind worth bothering about.¹¹ To write this kind of fiction the writer must study the details of contemporary life and set them down, not imaginatively, but accurately,¹² because it is the duty of the novel writer to tell the truth and thus avoid adding to the cloud of lies that befog the path of those seeking truth.¹³ And so in his novels he is careful to notify the reader that he is not a romancer, but a reporter of life engaged in an unceasing search for truth. He says that *The Price She Paid* is a biography, not a romance, a history, or a eulogy;¹⁴ *Susan Lenox* is a "human history";¹⁵ *The Cost* is a "record of events";¹⁶ *The Deluge* is "not a ro-

⁶ P. 24.

⁷ Marcossan, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁹ P. 184.

¹⁰ Godfrey Loring in *The Husband's Story*, p. 3, says: "And I know well . . . that our women of the book-buying class, and probably of all classes, love to amuse their useless idleness with books to help them to dream of wasting large sums of money upon luxuries and extravagances, upon entertaining grand people in grand houses and being entertained by them. They tell me, and I believe it, that our women abhor stories of middle-class life, abhor truth-telling stories of any kind, like only what assures them that the promptings of their own vanities and sentimental shams are true."

¹¹ Marcossan, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

¹² Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

¹³ B. O. Flower, "David Graham Phillips, a Novelist with Democratic Ideals," *The Arena*, XXXI (March, 1904), p. 239.

¹⁴ P. 288.

¹⁵ P. 177.

¹⁶ P. 123.

mance; only the veracious chronicle of certain human beings";¹⁷ and *The Conflict* ends as if it were merely a history of fact and not a novel at all.¹⁸ He refers to *The Second Generation* as "these chronicles"¹⁹ and to *The Plum Tree* as "these memoirs."²⁰ *The Husband's Story* is not "an artistic novel," he explains to his readers. "It is a story of life, a plain setting forth of actualities, in the hope that it may enable some men and women to understand life more clearly and to live their own lives more wisely and perhaps less mischievously."²¹ Editor Canfield's advice to Emily Bromfield in the novel *A Woman Ventures* epitomizes Phillips' own factual methods; Emily, as a new reporter, has been assigned to cover a strike.

Send us what you see—what you really see. If you see misery, send it. Put humour into your stuff—all the humour you possibly can—"fake" that, if necessary. But it won't be necessary, if you have real eyes. Go to the workmen's houses. Look all through them—parlours, bedrooms, kitchen. Look at the grocer's bills and butcher's. Tell what their clothes cost. Describe their children. Talk to their children. Make us see just what kind of people these are that are making such a stir; you've a great opportunity. Don't miss it. And don't, don't, don't do "fine writing." No "literature"—just life, men, women, children.²²

But, characteristically enough, Phillips' literary creed as stated by himself, in reply to a question by B. O. Flower, then editor of the *Arena*, was founded not solely upon the realist aesthetic, but rather was a mélange of democracy, of belief in the evolutionary progress and perfectibility of man, of the obligation of the writer to tell the truth about things as they are, and of socialism. Phillips' own statement was this:

I particularly abhor the novels, histories, poems and every work of art that attributes to things that are essentially revolting, as war, tyranny, class distinctions, etc., qualities of beauty and charm which they do not in themselves possess. I think the artist should never lose sight of the truth that humanity is evolving—is on its way upward, that we must look in the past for the germs of the fine and the high which are budding at the present and will blossom in the future. In a word, I think the novel writer is under the universal obligation to tell the truth . . . , and I think it is possible to put truth into the most fanciful romances, just as definitely as into the most realistic pictures of life accorded us. Finally it seems to me that every one, the novelists no less than other men, should strive to make most intelligible to as many of us fellow beings as possible, the fundamental truth that the universe is the common property of us all, and we should help each other to enter into our inheritance and enjoy the fullness of it.²³

To tell the truth and to write the literature of contemporary life, the

¹⁷ P. 232.

¹⁸ P. 390.

¹⁹ P. 121.

²⁰ P. 47.

²¹ P. 399.

²² P. 87. This is substantially the view of Frank Norris also.

²³ B. O. Flower, "David Graham Phillips, a Novelist with Democratic Ideals," *loc. cit.*, p. 239.

novelist, Phillips thought, must study the economic forces and the industrial conditions that shape the life men lead.²⁴ With a naturalist's so-called scientific, objective interest in the environmental factors that determine character, he postulated as a principle of art that the writer, in order to understand human nature, must know how the man or woman acquires the necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter.

To study human nature either in the broad or in detail, leaving those matters out of account, is as if an anatomist were to try to understand the human body, having first taken away the vital organs and the arteries and veins.²⁵

The novelist's art was, for Phillips, definitely on the naturalistic level, so far as causes are concerned. The life of man is the life of the human animal, and so material concerns, especially money, are the primary things of life.

In the naturalistic world of Phillips' novels human beings are animals changed into men by the spell of reason, and sometimes, he said, it takes very little to dissolve that spell.²⁶ Man is the savage, the man-brute.

"... so feeble is man's reason, so near the brute is he, so under the rule of brute appetites, that he cannot think beyond the immediate apparent good, beyond today's meal."²⁷

Life is on the jungle basis in his novels, and men are wolves, tigers, bulls, swine, beasts of prey lying in wait to destroy each other.²⁸ In this savage jungle concept of business, of politics, of life in general, men trap men like beasts and feed upon them.²⁹ Every man, he explained, is a duality of man and beast, with now one uppermost, now the other. "My paths have not always been straight and open," said Harvey Saylor; "like all others who have won in the conditions of this world of man still thrall to the brute, I have had to use the code of the jungle. In climbing I have had to stoop, at times to crawl."³⁰ Or if life is not a fight for existence in the jungle, it is war and ferocious battle, full of plots, counterplots, surprise attacks, and stratagems—an unceasing fight for life and purse with blows coming from every side, a matter of breastworks and fortifications, secret attacks, and sudden raids, with no sleep except with sword and gun in hand and one eye open.³¹

²⁴ Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

²⁵ *Light-Fingered Gentry*, p. 436 f.

²⁶ *The Plum Tree*, p. 356.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

²⁸ The Wall Street financiers, especially, are creatures of prey—lions, wolves, and coyotes. See *The Cost*, p. 267.

²⁹ *Light-Fingered Gentry*, pp. 42, 420; *The Plum Tree*, p. 104.

³⁰ *The Plum Tree*, p. 296.

³¹ *The Deluge*, p. 328.

Like other naturalists Phillips was actually interested in physiology and biology, and he was intensely preoccupied with health and with "nerves." His works abound in descriptions of elementary physiological symptoms of passion and emotions and in figures of speech drawn from nature and science. They are full of blood, heart, nerves, and disease, the pretty pink interiors of the mouths of women, their blue-white teeth, and the magnetic thrill of their smooth white bodies. Phillips has a naturalistic sensitivity to subtle personality changes and to multiple personality. Phillips' world, moreover, is a deterministic one in which the inexorable workings of the physico-chemical laws that govern man render even the strongest intellect and will helpless. And so the morality of his novels is naturalistic, deterministic morality; for instance, the ruin of John Dumont in *The Cost* is not a moral ruin but the physical ruin that descends like Nemesis upon an outraged constitution.³²

Although Phillips himself was a careful workman,³³ his ideas on criticism and literary style were rudimentary. He contended, quite soundly of course, for a constructive criticism, but he advocated at the same time an emancipation from the "old standards of criticism"³⁴ in favor of a criticism that would give information about what the untrained man is doing, "no matter how crudely, with the busy problems that this great modern struggle for life forces."³⁵ He not only accepted the romantic fallacy of the native genius, but he would substitute information for evaluation and judgment and he would direct the attention of criticism not so much to the merits of the work as to the account of the contemporary environment. The political and social ideas that made him always the propagandist got in the way of his art, and he descended to critical absurdity when he said: "There should be no such thing as a superior mind in a mighty country where the destiny of conquest has been planted in every heart, in every brain."³⁶

In his own critical theory, Phillips divorced ideas and style, and perhaps because he realized that his own style was journalistic rather than literary, he adopted the view that style is a superficial grace, a species of ornamentation, a kind of pose. "I prefer ideas every time," he said,

³² *The Cost*, p. 234.

³³ "Every one of my books was written at least three times. . . . and when I say *three* times, it really means nine times, on account of my system of copying and revision." "Chronicle and Comment," *Bookman*, xxxiii (March, 1911), 6. Incidentally, he believed that college courses in English are of negative value as a training in the craft of writing. *Ibid.*

³⁴ He disliked " . . . the standards established by the college curriculum, that stuffs more dead language into a young man than would be inflicted on a corpse." Phillips, as reported in Marcossou, *op. cit.*, p. 288 ff.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

as if it were a question of a choice between the two. "Ideas in any form are first rate. The style will come to a writer, but sometimes the ideas are lacking." He said of style:

A writer who is worrying about form and style is like the speaker who devotes his last spare moments before the speech to waxing his mustache and curling his hair and otherwise studying his gestures before the mirror to give him the grace of delivery. Writing is the result of thinking about things to write about and studying the most trivial details of action in contemporaneous life, so that you may set them down, not imaginatively, but accurately. A novelist has to stick to his ideas night and day as jealously as an east-side Hebrew sticks to a bargain problem. There isn't any time to waste on poses; you're too busy making notes.³⁷

Phillips' aim was to let the story tell itself, without any apparent style, more or less as if a child might have written it.³⁸ Perhaps Howard in *The Great God Success* is expressing Phillips' views when he says that he must learn to write for the people, and that means the most difficult of all styles.³⁹ The chief political reporter of his newspaper compliments Howard thus:

"That story of yours this morning reads as if a child might have written it. I don't see how you get such effects without any style at all. You just let your story tell itself."

"Well, you see," replied Howard, "I am writing for the masses, and fine writing would be wasted upon them."⁴⁰

With such a concept of style and art, it is only natural that Phillips should repudiate art for art's sake. Beauty, he held in *The Hungry Heart*, should not be divorced from "its supreme quality, use." Beauty applied to use and use achieved in beauty was his aesthetic.⁴¹

"... there is no beauty divorced from use, ... beauty is simply *the* perfect adaptation of the thing to be used for the purpose for which it is to be used."⁴²

Perhaps his disdain of style and of literary technique may account for the fact that he progressed so slowly in his own acquisition of ease, force, and beauty of style, that some of his novels are only narrative tracts on love, business, and politics, that some, such as *George Helm*, are mere potboilers, that others, like *White Magic* and *Her Serene Highness*, are of negligible value, that still others, such as *The Price She Paid*, are pale repetitions of what he had already said; and that he ap-

³⁷ Marcossion, *op. cit.*, p. 286. Cf. Frank Norris; he wrote to Isaac Marcossion: "What pleased me most in your review of *McTeague* was 'disdaining all pretensions to style.' It is precisely what I try most to avoid. I detest 'fine writing,' 'rhetoric,' 'elegant English'—tommyrot. Who cares for fine style! Tell your yarn and let your style go to the devil. We don't want literature, we want life." Franklin Walker, *Frank Norris: A Biography* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1932), pp. 55-56.

³⁸ Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

³⁹ P. 27.

⁴⁰ P. 29.

⁴¹ *The Hungry Heart*, p. 69.

⁴² *The Husband's Story*, p. 110 f.

proached greatness only in his last novel, *Susan Lenox*.⁴³ Perhaps his disdain of style and technique may also explain the fact that his early novels, such as *The Cost*, are marred by melodrama,⁴⁴ crude Hugoesque black and white contrasts, such as the pure white hero Scarborough and the black villain Dumont, triteness and jargon, unconvincing sudden moral transformations, and the interruption of the story for the insertion of his own comments in the form of little preaching and philosophizing essays.⁴⁵

In point of technique, the total effect of his work is an attempted repetition for the America of the first part of the twentieth century of what Balzac did for the France of the early nineteenth.⁴⁶ Phillips'

⁴³ In *The Hungry Heart*, as in *Susan Lenox*, Phillips shows that he can be a first-rate novelist and not merely a journalistic constructor of critical prose tracts held together by the thread of a love story. *Susan Lenox*, *The Hungry Heart*, *Old Wives for New*, *The Plum Tree*, *Light-Fingered Gentry*, *The Second Generation*, *The Conflict*, *Degarmo's Wife*, and *Enid* best represent Phillips. *The Hungry Heart* is a superior novel, with good characterization, dramatic conflict, and convincing dialogue; *Old Wives for New* is also a good piece of work, with excellent description, characterization, and illuminating discussion of a certain phase of the marriage problem; *The Plum Tree* demonstrates that the author can handle suspense effectively and political and business intrigue superlatively well; its carefully documented description is worthy of note.

⁴⁴ In *The Cost* Dumont ruins his enemies and recoups his losses. But in his weakened condition he succumbs to the terrific strain of the financial battle and dies. "On the floor in the heaps and coils of ticker-tape lay Dumont. In his struggles the tape had wound round and round his legs, his arms, his neck. It lay in a curling, coiling mat, like a serpent's head, upon his throat, where his hands clutched the collar of his pajamas" (p. 399).

In *The Second Generation*, Arden Wilmot in a drunken frenzy shoots and kills his sister's workman-lover because he isn't good enough for her, an aristocrat; a mob of infuriated townspeople lynch the brother immediately, while the sister clings to the body of her murdered lover (pp. 303-7).

The proud Juliet Raeburn throws herself at Murdock's feet and begs for the love of this now melodramatic Byronic hero fleeing over the face of the earth trying to escape himself and forget that he is a somber, sardonic misanthrope with a dark secret gnawing in his soul (*Old Wives for New*, pp. 487-89).

The story, also, of Stilson and his actress-wife, Marguerite Feronia, narcotic addict and drunkard, is melodramatic; she dies touchingly and conventionally, in the melodramatic manner, in a squalid London rooming house. Stilson, in this novel, *A Woman Ventures*, is also Byronic with a dark secret brooding in his soul.

There are many other examples of melodrama in Phillips' various novels; melodramatic incident was a fault of technique that he had a difficult time overcoming. See also *The Cost*, pp. 91, 94, 111-12, 146-47, 256-57, 400, 131, 255, 320-21; *The Plum Tree*, pp. 101, 165, 259, 288, 355-57.

⁴⁵ Phillips' biographer, Marcossion (*op. cit.*, p. 284) maintains that Phillips set down his first impressions of a novel in the form of a play and that he closely followed the technique of the playwright in describing the scenes, drawing diagrams of rooms, indicating entrances and exits, and incorporating part of the dialogue; hence the directness and forcefulness of the conversation, the suspense, and the dramatic climaxes. A careful reading of the novels, however, makes it difficult to agree with Marcossion on this point.

⁴⁶ Underwood, *op. cit.*, p. 187 f., says: ". . . he has achieved almost as comprehensive an account of early twentieth century American fundamentals as Balzac did of early nineteenth century life in France" Underwood considers Phillips the American Balzac. Cf. the *New York Times*, February 25, 1917, V, 62:63: "He had . . . the ambition to make

twenty-three novels make a searching critical examination of the commercial, political, and social life of the first decade of the twentieth century. He slices off a piece of contemporary American life of a little more than a decade in length,⁴⁷ and then investigates various segments of it as represented by commercial, political, and social interests, which are, in turn, represented by divers people many of whom have some connection with Saint Christopher ("Saint X"), Indiana. He explains his cross-section technique in *The Deluge*:

Take a cross-section of life anywhere, and you have a tangled interweaving of the action and reaction of men upon women, of women upon women, of men and women upon one another. And this [*The Deluge*] shall be a cross-section out of the very heart of our life today, with its big and bold energies and passions—the swiftest and intensest life ever lived by the human race.⁴⁸

The whole series of novels is given a sense of, if not unity, then at least connection by the device of recurring scenes and reappearing and interlocking characters, such as Balzac and Zola used. Saint Christopher, Indiana, is the focal point in setting of the series of novels; some of the novels have their action localized there; in others the characters either originate there, or the action radiates from that center. Many of the characters reappear in subsequent novels and thus tie together the series in time, although they are usually merely mentioned and play no dominant part in the action. Through the medium of these reappearing and interlocking characters Phillips makes it evident that most of his novels have approximately the same setting in time.⁴⁹

of some of his novels a many-sided representation of American life, so that the series of books should be, in a way, a '*Comedie Humaine*' of the new, democratic civilization."

⁴⁷ *Golden Fleece* sets the date of the action sometime after the death of President Arthur (p. 186). *Susan Lenox* begins in 1896 (see I, 70). The American "*Comedie Humaine*" concludes with Phillips' death in 1911.

⁴⁸ P. 3.

⁴⁹ Harvey Sayler, central figure of *The Plum Tree*, reappears in *George Helm*. Hampden Scarborough, whose story is told in *The Cost* and *The Plum Tree*, reappears or is referred to in *Light-Fingered Gentry* and *The Second Generation*. Pauline Gardiner Dumont Scarborough, of *The Cost* and *The Plum Tree*, is mentioned in *Light-Fingered Gentry* and *Old Wives for New*. Roebuck, the financial Titan, appears in *The Cost*, *The Deluge*, *The Plum Tree*, and *White Magic*. Mowbray Langdon is a minor character of *The Cost*; he has a fairly important part in *The Deluge*; he is also mentioned in *The Grain of Dust* and *Old Wives for New*. John Dumont is the main character of *The Cost*; the name recurs in *The Deluge* and thus places this novel in time shortly after *The Cost*; Dumont is also mentioned in *The Second Generation*. Galloway, the greatest of the financial Titans, is the autobiographer of *The Master Rogue*; he also figures in *The Grain of Dust*, *Golden Fleece*, *White Magic*, *The Deluge*, and *Light-Fingered Gentry*. Dr. Schulze of Saint Christopher is a valuable time-linking character; he plays his most important role in *Old Wives for New* and *The Second Generation*; his name recurs in *The Conflict* and the opening pages of Phillips' last novel, *Susan Lenox*. Fosdick, of *Light-Fingered Gentry*, is also referred to in *The Grain of Dust* and *White Magic*. Charles Murdock, the central figure of *Old Wives for New*, reappears in *The Husband's Story*; also in

The plots of Phillips' novel are conventional and standardized.⁵⁰ They are based on sex interest and on political and business intrigue, which takes the form of shrewd and unexpected moves in big cases. Phillips repeats stock characters and situations, using the love intrigue as a device to cater to popular interest and float his criticisms of politics and business. The battle of the sexes carries the narrative part of the novel, and it is sex that motivates the plot; the hero's conquest of the heroine is a long-drawn campaign replete with attacks, defeats, counter-attacks, and ultimate victory on the last page. In the novels of politics and business the love story is merely a concession to Phillips' belief that a novel couldn't be successful without sex interest;⁵¹ in the early novels there is little sex in the love story, which is a stilted appendage to the critical tract. The author's conventional pattern for the love intrigue is the triangle, which usually develops into a double triangle.⁵² There is love or mismating at the beginning of the story, then estrangement or separation or divorce through conflicting ideals or misunderstanding or a third person, and finally reconciliation or happiness with a new mate.⁵³ When the husband falls in love with another woman the plot revolves upon the impediments to the divorce. When a man and a woman marry without love, they become "bachelor husbands" or "wives in name only" who carry on for the sake of appearances.⁵⁴ A typical triangle problem and its solution is this: A marries B, but should have married C; C is not forgotten by A, and hangs around on the edge of things; finally B dies or is divorced, and A then marries C.⁵⁵

The central characters of Phillips' novels are practical, efficient, ruthless men who have risen from poverty and obscurity to the rank of political and financial Titans. They are, as he said, "men of might who

The Husband's Story are mentioned Horace Armstrong, Neva Carlin Armstrong, Boris Raphael, Fosdick, and Amy Siersdorf of *Light-Fingered Gentry*. Joe Morris, of *Light-Fingered Gentry*, is briefly mentioned in *Old Wives for New*. In *The Conflict* Ellen Clearwater is mentioned, thus tying in *The Conflict* with George Helm and with *Old Wives for New* by reference to Dr. Schulze. Senator Ritchie, who is mentioned in *Golden Fleece*, is also mentioned in *The Social Secretary*.

⁵⁰ Phillips' novels are plotless, said B. O. Flower, "A Book Study," *The Arena*, XXXVIII (December, 1907), 704; "Men, Women, and Books of the Hour," *The Arena*, XXXVIII (December, 1907), 669.

⁵¹ See *The Plum Tree*, p. 117.

⁵² The triangle or the double triangle occurs in *The Cost*, *The Plum Tree*, *Light-Fingered Gentry*, *The Grain of Dust*, *The Conflict*, *A Woman Ventures*, *The Great God Success*, *The Hungry Heart*, *The Husband's Story*, *Old Wives for New*, *The Price She Paid*, *White Magic*, *Susan Lenox*.

⁵³ Cf. *The Hungry Heart*, *The Husband's Story*, and *Old Wives for New*.

⁵⁴ See *The Husband's Story*, *The Cost*, and *Old Wives for New*.

⁵⁵ *Susan Lenox* departs from this formula.

have come up from the deep obscurity of the masses,"⁵⁶ self-made men who rise to the pinnacle of success and thus help to perpetuate the great American success myth.⁵⁷ They are daring, unscrupulous, predatory financiers and speculators, selfish, ruthless, cunning, and clever. Galloway, the greatest of them all, crushes every human being who opposes him, even his wife and children.⁵⁸ They are men of prodigious physical appetites and violent passions. They are physically big, with broad shoulders, solid jaws, and enormous strength. They want "all that a woman can give." The characteristic Phillipsian hero desires independence. "In this day a man has got to have an independence—or do what some other man says."⁵⁹ They have a passion to be their "own men," to be their own boss. Often they are working for the capital to live on, and when they secure it they intend to turn honest. His heroes also are supermen as idealistically good as his villains are thoroughly bad.

All his important characters are exceptional people, as are Balzac's. In Phillips' first novel, Howard writes to Marian: "But you and I, we belong to a class all by ourselves, don't we?"⁶⁰ And Jane Hastings says: "Victor Dorn belongs to a class by himself. . . . You forget that men of genius are not regarded like you poor ordinary mortals."⁶¹ The male characters are Nietzschean supermen—Armstrong of *Light-Fingered Gentry*, Blacklock of *The Deluge*, Hastings of *The Conflict*, Dumont and Scarborough of *The Cost*, and Harvey Sayler of *The Plum Tree*—all men in whose faces was "the same look of superiority, of the 'born to lead.'"⁶² Fred Norman, of *The Grain of Dust*, was, similarly, a superman, a monster for working, for feeding, for loving, a man who could dissipate for six days and feel no worse for it. Phillips was burdened in his characterization by a "master man" complex—a man who stands out from the crowd and rises above it.⁶³ All his heroes are such—Hiram Ranger and the blunt, cocksure Dory Hargrave of *The Second Generation*, Roger Wade of *White Magic*, and sometimes even secondary characters like Dr. Stanhope of *A Woman Ventures*.

⁵⁶ See *George Helm*, p. 5.

⁵⁷ See Howard in *The Great God Success*, George Helm in *George Helm*, Armstrong in *Light-Fingered Gentry*, Blacklock in *The Deluge*, Harvey Sayler in *The Plum Tree*, Scarborough in *The Cost* and *The Plum Tree*, Galloway in *The Master Rogue*, and Godfrey Loring in *The Husband's Story*.

⁵⁸ Galloway is the central figure of *A Master Rogue*.

⁵⁹ *George Helm*, p. 114.

⁶⁰ *The Great God Success*, p. 243.

⁶¹ *The Conflict*, p. 308.

⁶² *The Cost*, p. 28.

⁶³ *Old Wives for New*, p. 217.

Galloway is a typical "master" man, "a giant, doing a giant's work with a pygmy's puny tools."⁶⁴ He says:

"It seems to me sacrilege for any one to dare oppose me when I have so completely vindicated my right to lead and to rule."⁶⁵

"As my wife and I drove down to the house for the reception, I caught myself muttering to the crowds pushing indifferently along the sidewalk, intent upon their foolish little business, 'Bow! Bow! Don't you know that one of your masters is passing?'"⁶⁶

The heroines are superior, exceptional, unconventional women like Neva Carlin Armstrong of *Light-Fingered Gentry*, Courtney Vaughan of *The Hungry Heart*, Mildred Gower of *The Price She Paid*, Jane Hastings and Selma Gordon of *The Conflict*, and Susan Lenox. All these exceptional women are seeking emancipation from the traditional restrictions that fetter the female, and they all have a passion for independence and freedom of personality. They are what Phillips considers a woman should be—beautiful, superior, intelligent, understanding, honest, independent, self-reliant, and self-respecting. Emotionally, the heroines of the early novels on business and politics, like Pauline Gardiner Dumont of *The Cost* and even Dorothy Hallowell of *The Grain of Dust*, are ice maidens who thaw out only for the right man, "snow maidens, tranquil and beautiful and cold." Physically, the heroines in general are tall and slender with figures that are "marvelous studies in long lines."⁶⁷ Phillips' description of Dorothy Hallowell had already been applied to Neva Carlin Armstrong and represents the author's idealization of female beauty: "long lines—, long throat, long bust, long arms, long in body and legs—long and slender . . ."⁶⁸ Phillips' best characterizations of woman are those of Sophy Murdock in *Old Wives for New*, Courtney Vaughan in *The Hungry Heart*, and his triumph, Susan Lenox.

Instead of being, as he thought, the impersonal observer and objective reporter of life, Phillips was, as a matter of fact, a writer who composed his novels under the pressure of strong dominant ideas. His selection of materials was determined by his primary political and social interests. Even his method of characterization was determined by his conception that a man is interesting "only as an illustration of an idea"—one man, a dandy, another, a wit, a third, a great success with

⁶⁴ *The Master Rogue*, p. 93.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁶⁷ *Light-Fingered Gentry*, p. 34.

⁶⁸ *The Grain of Dust*, p. 15 f.

the ladies, and so on, a technique more likely to produce types than individual creations.⁶⁹

Despite his disavowal of any purpose, Phillips' novels are undoubtedly purpose and propagandistic novels.⁷⁰ Written during the muckraking era, these problem novels⁷¹ have as their purpose the exposure of evils in business, government, and social relations, and the arousing of the public conscience against the spoliation of the people by the plutocracy and the dereliction to duty of the American woman. They criticize such diverse aspects of American life as college education, the evil effects of inherited wealth upon the children of rich parents, sexual standards, American society, social ambitions, the position of woman in society, married life, and the independence of women.

Phillips' political and social ideas and his class-consciousness influenced his literary ideals. The mission of his novels became the indoctrination of the American masses with ideals of democracy, nationalism,⁷² and certain tenets of socialism. His novels are, on the whole, a long preachment on the subject of democracy, economic opportunity, and social justice. His theories of this kind became premises for his novel writing. So definitely did he allow his dominant ideas to influence his novels that he believed that one of the functions of the novelist was propaganda in favor of a socialistic concept of life.⁷³ Life as it is, then, for Phillips, was in reality life in accordance with a pattern of fixed critical ideas on contemporary American life—ideas that directed his observation, determined his selection of material, and colored his style.

⁶⁹ See Marcossou, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Cf. Balzac, *Père Goriot*, and *Eugénie Grandet*.

⁷⁰ Frederic Tabor Cooper, *Some American Story Tellers* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), p. 116. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XIV, 47-48: ". . . his novels are inspired by a propagandistic spirit."

⁷¹ Underwood (*op. cit.*) says that the majority of Phillips' novels are problem novels.

⁷² "I hate, hate, hate," Phillips exclaimed, "to see mere shallow imitations of Europe" Marcossou, p. 207.

⁷³ *Arena*, XXXI (March, 1904), 239.

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN LITERATURE

HARVEY EAGLESON

California Institute of Technology

... a mere fact is like a blind love, it leads only to itself—it has no beyond. But a truth opens up a whole horizon, it leads us to the infinite. That is the reason why, when a man like Darwin discovers some simple general truth about Biology, it does not stop there, but like a lamp shedding its light far beyond the object for which it was lighted, it illumines the whole region of human life and thought, transcending its original purpose.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Modern literature began in London on November 24th, 1859. On that day *The Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin was published, and all the copies in the first edition, twelve hundred and fifty, were sold the same day.

No intellectual movement can, of course, be given an exact date for its beginning and end. The principal activity of literary scholarship for over a generation has been the search for “influences” and “sources.” It has demonstrated clearly that Elizabethan tragedy did not begin with *Tamburlaine* (1587), nor did the Romantic Movement start with the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). These conventional landmarks are merely convenient points of departure rather than actual beginnings. They are the first great concrete expressions of a frequently long existent but as yet unrealised unrest in that mysterious force, the *Zeitgeist*, not the initial impulse. The reason for choosing these landmarks, however, is that immediately following their appearance definite intellectual movements emerge, movements having definite characteristics, producing definite results, and having definite and usually widespread influence.

The common denominator which characterizes modern literature and which sets it apart from earlier literary periods is the direct and indirect, yet all-pervading influence of science. The date of publication of *The Origin of Species* is here selected as a point of departure as marking not the first impingement of science on the artistic mind, but the one which was to have the most widespread and immediate effect. The reason for this sudden great influence of science on literature is patent. The work of Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, the three greatest figures in modern science before Darwin, while disturbing, while causing religious

and philosophical doubt, was not widespread in its dissemination, partly because of the difficulty of comprehending these theories by the lay mind, partly because the literate public was smaller. And even though the theories of these men were disturbing, they could nevertheless, with a little straining of the rational faculties, be incorporated in a religious or philosophical concept which held man as the most important object in the universe, a creature endowed with faculties beyond the natural, a creature either created by a sentient and conscious creator or a particle or fragment of that creator, but in any case a creature set apart from the rest of nature and only partially subject to its mechanical laws. Suddenly doubt was cast on this entire position.

While it may be difficult for the lay mind to understand the reasoning behind, and the significance of, the proposition of Copernicus that "A simple body must move in a circle, and nothing but circular motion can give periodicity to the phenomena"; or Galileo's discovery of the relation between space and time in falling bodies and the isochronism of the pendulum; or Newton's "light consists of rays differently refrangible" and "colors are not qualifications of light derived from refractions or natural bodies, as is generally believed, but original and connote properties which in divers rays are divers," or the ideas of mass and force as set forth in his great work *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*, he who runs may read and understand the thesis of *The Origin of Species* as it is stated in the last paragraph of that famous work.

It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank, clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing on the bushes, with various insects flitting about, and with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent upon each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us. These laws, taken in the largest sense, being Growth with Reproduction; Inheritance which is almost implied by reproduction; Variability from the indirect and direct action of the conditions of life, and from use and disuse: a Ratio of Increase so high as to lead to a struggle for Life, and as a consequence to Natural Selection, entailing Divergence of Character and the Extinction of less-improved forms. Thus, from the war of nature, from famine and death, the most exalted object which we are capable of conceiving, namely, the production of the higher animals, directly follows.

What is more, he who runs and reads finds himself immediately involved. Darwin's theory is concerned not with the movements of the astral bodies or the mechanics of force and mass, but with man's own sentient self. The acceptance of Darwin's theory does not mean merely

a matter of dispensing with the Garden of Eden and the Biblical statement, "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." The eighteenth century had seen these concepts widely denied. But Darwin's theory made man a part of nature, not a thing apart from it. *And that nature was no longer benign.* It was ordered by law, and that law was mechanical and insensate. The great pantheists, Rousseau, Wordsworth, Carlyle, Emerson, had accepted man as a part of nature and identified nature with God, but their nature, inscrutable, incomprehensible, mystic, sublime, sometimes even terrifying, was still benign. Wordsworth saw in nature

A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime,
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

Emerson saw "the aspect of nature" as "devout. Like the figure of Jesus, she stands with bended head, and hands folded upon the breast. The happiest man is he who learns from nature the lesson of worship . . . the noblest ministry of nature is to stand as the apparition of God. It is the organ through which the universal spirit speaks to the individual, and strives to lead back the individual to it."

But neither Wordsworth, Emerson, nor the other pantheists had observed nature as closely as had Darwin. As Aldous Huxley points out in his brilliant essay, *Wordsworth in the Tropics*,

A voyage through the tropics would have cured him [Wordsworth] of his too easy and comfortable pantheism. A few months in the jungle would have convinced him that the diversity and utter strangeness of Nature are at least as real and significant as its intellectually discovered unity. Nor would he have felt so certain, in the damp and stifling darkness, among the leeches and the malevolently tangled rattans, of the divinely Anglican character of that fundamental unity. . . . But Wordsworth never left his native continent. Europe is so well gardened that it resembles a work of art, a scientific theory, a neat metaphysical system. Man has re-created Europe in his own image. Its tamed and temperate Nature confirmed Wordsworth in his philosophizings.

Now with Darwin nature became "red in tooth and claw," and when Thomas Hardy, one of the first of the moderns, sought consolation in nature, he found only

Great growths and small
Show them to men akin—
Combatants all!
Sycamore shoulders oak,
Bines the slim sapling yoke,
Ivy-spun halters choke,
Elms stout and tall.

Touches from ash, O wych,
Sting you like scorn!
You, too, brave hollies, twitch
Sidelong from thorn.
Even the rank poplars bear
Illy a rival's air,
Cankering in blank despair
If overborne.

The second great stimulus from science to affect the literary mind came from the psychologists, principally Freud. The history of literature is in part the progress of the change from the objective to the subjective, from exterior action to interior action. Narrative in its earliest forms, the ballad, the epic, the romance, the drama, is objective. The interest of the author is centered on presenting a series of related events of a physical nature. Gradually, however, authors became interested in their own and their characters' mental reactions to these physical events. The proportion of the subjective matter to the objective increased constantly, but not until the work of Henry James, himself the brother of one of the earliest great psychologists, a fact usually overlooked in studies of his work, does the element of the subjective dominate. After the work of Freud and other psychologists and the widespread popularization of their ideas, the subjective comes almost wholly to dominate. In recent literature, in the fiction of writers like James Joyce and Virginia Woolf who employ the so-called stream-of-consciousness method, the physical action has become trivial when it cannot be said to have disappeared entirely.

The influence of psychology, however, has been less destructive to idealism than that of the other sciences. Its effect has been largely on the technique and subject matter of literature rather than on the philosophical point of view, though the latter has not been unaffected. The theories of the Behaviorists have mechanized the one thing, thought, which, even after Darwin, seemed to set man apart from other organisms, and the theories of Freud have demonstrated that the so-called noble attributes of man are really sublimations of the physical. All this has not been without its effect upon the artistic mind.

This penetration of science into the field of the humanities has not been altogether placidly accepted by the humanists. Edna St. Vincent Millay may exclaim in one of the finest sonnets of recent years, "Euclid alone has looked on Beauty bare," but the conquests of the scientists in the field of knowledge have been as often resented by artists as accepted. In January 1875, George Eliot wrote to the Honorable Mrs. Ponsonby, ". . . I think we must not take every great physicist—or other 'ist'—for an apostle, but be ready to suspect him of some crudity concerning relations that lie outside his special studies, if his exposition strands us on results that seem to stultify the most ardent, massive experience of mankind, and hem up the best part of our feelings in stagnation." More recently William Butler Yeats has written

Seek, then,
No learning from the starry men,
Who follow with the optic glass
The whirling ways of stars that pass—
Seek, then, for this is also sooth,
No word of theirs—the cold star-bane
Has cloven and rent their hearts in twain,
And dead is all their human truth.

The controversy between Arnold and Huxley over the proper ratio of scientific to humanistic studies in education is famous, and not yet ended, witness the readjustments in many English and American university curricula at present.

One of the early (1889) and most sensational diatribes against scientific mechanism, positivism, and the deterministic psychology which in its later development has become known as Behaviorism, was Paul Bourget's novel, *The Disciple*. Bourget himself early adopted the concepts of positivist science and deterministic psychology. His novels are subtle analyses of psychological situations, many of them morbid. But in mid-career he seems to have reacted against his early beliefs.

The Disciple is an awful warning of the evils which follow upon an acceptance of the teachings of science and a practical application of them to life. The novel is concerned with a young man, the follower of a fictitious philosopher, Adrien Sixte, "the French Spencer." The young man attempts to put into practice for experimental purposes, the theories of his master. By subtle suggestion he plays upon the mind of an innocent girl, seduces her, and drives her to suicide. He himself is murdered by the young woman's brother, most decidedly with the approval of Bourget.

The novel is preceded by a long dedication "To a Young Man," in

which Bourget points his moral. He describes two types of young men whom he sees in the society about him. One young man

has borrowed from the natural philosophy of the times the great law of vital concurrence, and he applies it to the advancement of his fortune with an ardor of positivism which makes him a civilized barbarian; the most dangerous kind.

The other

possesses all the aristocracies of nerves and mind is an intellectual and refined epicurean as the former is a brutal and scientific one. . . . The good and the bad, beauty and deformity, vices and virtues are to him simply objects of curiosity. The human soul so far as he is concerned is a skillful piece of mechanism in the dissection of which he is interested as a matter of experience. To him nothing is true, nothing is false, nothing is moral, nothing is immoral.

Both of these young men Bourget considers monsters. Both are the product of modern science.

He concludes his dedicatory address with the advice:

Be neither of these young men, my young friend! Be neither the brutal positivist who abuses the world of sense, nor the disdainful and precocious sophist who abuses the world of thought and feeling. Let neither the pride of life nor that of intellect make of you a cynic and a juggler of ideas! In such times of troubled conscience and conflicting doctrines cling as you would to a safe support to Christ's words: "The tree is known by its fruit." There is one reality which you cannot doubt, for you possess it, you feel it, you see it every moment, it is your own soul. Among the thoughts which assail you, are those which render your soul less capable of loving, less capable of desire. Be sure that these ideas are false to a degree, however subtle they seem, adorned as they are with the finest names and sustained by the magic of the most splendid talents. Exalt and cultivate these two great virtues, these two energies, without which only blight and final agony ensue—Love and Will.

In his later life Bourget found his consolation and his solution to the problems of the universe in Catholic mysticism. A younger generation has come to maturity since 1889. It has forgotten *The Disciple*, the warning it contained, and the sensation it once caused. In fact, the new generation has almost forgotten Bourget.

The American New Humanist movement led by the late Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More, which flourished so widely and so briefly a few years ago, was another revolt against the intellectual tentacles of science. It is not necessary here to take up the work of each of the men composing this group, for, though differing slightly in detail, their fundamental beliefs are identical and are those of Professor Babbitt. He sees three major points of view current among modern thinkers: that of the group he terms the Rousseauists, that of the Baconians, and that of the Humanists. "The goal of the humanist," he writes in his essay

contributed to the symposium, *Living Philosophies*, "is poised and proportionate living." This end he hopes to accomplish by "Observing the law of measure. . . . Decorum is supreme for the humanist even as humility takes precedence over all other virtues in the eyes of the Christian."

Babbitt believes in an essential dualism in the universe and more particularly in the individual.

. . . . it seems to me imperative to reestablish the true dualism—that between vital impulse and vital control—and to this end to affirm the higher will first of all as a psychological fact one of the immediate data of consciousness, a perception so primordial that, compared with it, the denial of man's moral freedom by the determinist is only a metaphysical dream.

The New Humanist's objection to the Rousseauist is that he assumes that man is naturally good, a postulate which Babbitt denies, and that the evils of man's situation arise not from himself but from his institutions. The Rousseauist "has tended not only to substitute sociology for theology, but to discredit the older dualism in any form whatsoever." The Rousseauist has substituted humanitarianism for humanism, and an outer check, that of law and society, for the check which springs from vital control within the individual, thus denying the moral choice of the individual. Such a substitution Babbitt believes can only result in anarchy.

The Baconians, the scientists, Babbitt disapproves of on other grounds. The Rousseauist admits a dualism in the universe, but the wrong dualism. The Baconians admit no dualism whatsoever, but insist on monism.

They [the Baconians] always have encouraged and, one may safely say, always will encourage the substitution of a kingdom of man for the traditional Kingdom of God—the exaltation of material over spiritual "comfort," the glorification of man's increasing control over the forces of nature under the name of progress.

Mr. Babbitt inveighs against the claims of an hegemony for physical science "to which it is not entitled," and refers to "the behaviorists and other naturalistic psychologists, who are to be accounted at present among the chief enemies of human nature."

The New Humanist movement was short-lived and by no means extensive in its influence, partly because of the death of its two leaders, Babbitt and More. In any case it is hard to believe that its tenets would have been widely received. Its essential doctrine of dualism is difficult to accept in the light of modern science, the whole tendency of which is increasingly toward a monistic point of view. Whatever philosophical

solution to the questions of the universe at which man may arrive, that solution, to be at all acceptable to the thinking man, must take into account the postulates and discoveries of science. In beginning with a premise which directly denied one of these postulates of science as it is now constituted, the New Humanists made impossible at the start any large acceptance of their ideas.

The body of scientific knowledge is now too great and too important to be denied. The scientific approach is too intellectually healthful, too cathartic of prejudice, too productive of tolerance to be put aside. It no longer can be a question of acceptance or denial between two great bodies of thought; it must be a matter of compromise. The question is how and in what fashion the word *science* can be made again to mean *knowledge* and not merely the subject matter of the natural sciences.

Man is so constituted that he must have something beyond himself as a point of reference, something upon which he can lean, which is greater than the individual in actual or conceptual size, in experience, age, knowledge. This tendency is, psychologically, an outgrowth of the parent-child relationship. As the child grows older, becomes himself a parent, he realises the human and fallible qualities of the parent. The parent is no longer a sufficient prop. He is only another individual like the child and is an insufficient point of reference for an explanation of the problems of society and the cosmos, and an inadequate source of consolation in trouble and despair. For the parent, then, is substituted, in adulthood, some larger entity. In most cases this entity takes the form of a god, or many gods. In primitive society, or in civilized society where the primitive mind still dominates, this god is material and anthropomorphic in character. As the civilized and learned elements in society begin to dominate, this god becomes symbolical, ceases altogether to be material in the usual sense, becomes an abstract and philosophical idea. Fundamentally and in actuality these concepts, whether anthropomorphic or abstract, are still only a sublimation of the parent-child relationship. That relationship is inherent and inescapable by the very nature of things. It cannot possibly be removed from the conscious, and still less from the subconscious mind by a process of ratiocination. When the attempt is made, when the god principle is denied, a substitution, usually humanity or the state, is made for it, but whatever it is, it is something larger than the individual and retains the qualities of the parent-child relationship.

The next and logical step after a realization that nature is not wholly benign, that man is not apart from the rest of the universe, and that nature is not constituted for the sole benefit of man, must be that nature

is indifferent to man and that his desires and aspirations are a matter of no consequence or importance in the cosmos. God disappears from the universe and must be denied altogether or rediscovered in a new form compatible with this new concept. Immediately also arises the ethical question, the question of the *Book of Job* and the *Rubaiyat*, Why do good men suffer? Is the answer cosmic indifference? And if it is, why be good? Either all ethical standards must be abandoned, man must give himself up to moral chaos, or goodness must be redefined and a new basis for an ethical standard discovered.

These questions, with their implications and complex ramifications, constitute the problems which characterize modern literature and set it apart from previous literature. It is not intended to imply that these questions themselves are new. They are probably as ancient as man himself. But before Darwin the answers to these questions were made almost wholly in the light of theology, philosophy, and dialectics. The easily comprehended Darwinian theory of evolution, with its immediate application to man himself, brought forcibly to the artist mind the existence of the rapidly growing body of new knowledge, the natural sciences. The writers, then, whose work constitutes modern literature are those writers since Darwin who realise that these ancient questions must be answered in the light of modern science.

Within this point of view four attitudes are possible. One may accept a mechanized universe and cosmic indifference and assume toward it a position of defiance, stoicism, or despair; one may make a substitution for God, either Society or the State; one may deny the pertinence of the body of scientific knowledge and reiterate the traditional beliefs; one may attempt a reconciliation of scientific and idealistic thought. Into these four categories modern literature may for convenience, if not with exact accuracy, be divided.

Within these four points of view the minor variations are almost legion. This multiplicity without doubt gives variety to modern literature, but it has also produced intellectual confusion, dispersed direction, the keynote of our time. The very multiplicity of modern philosophies is an indication of their falsity, of the fact that the truth for our time has not yet been found, for truth is single.

The philosophy of defeat and despair is patently undesirable by its very nature. No man who has upheld such a philosophy has wanted to uphold it. He has been driven to it by observation and reason. He holds it because he can hold no other, because from his own point of view no other is possible. For this reason we find Bertrand Russell speaking for many men today when he writes,

That Man is the product of causes which had no prevision of the end they were achieving; that his origin, his growth, his hopes and fears, his loves and his beliefs, are but the outcome of accidental collocations of atoms; that no fire, no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling, can preserve an individual life beyond the grave; that all the labours of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noonday brightness of the human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system, and that the whole temple of Man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins—all these things, if not quite beyond dispute, are yet so nearly certain, that no philosophy which rejects them can hope to stand. Only within the scaffolding of these truths, only on the firm foundation of unyielding despair, can the soul's habitation henceforth be safely built.

Likewise stoicism, resignation, is not an end-all and a be-all. It is passive, not active; it is in its essence no other than emotionally controlled despair, which is living death. Also speaking for many men to-day H. L. Mencken writes,

The truly civilized man, it seems to me, has already got away from the old puerile demand for a "meaning in life." It needs no meaning to be interesting to him. His satisfactions come, not out of a childish confidence that some vague and gaseous god, hidden away in some impossible sky, made him for a lofty purpose and will preserve him to fulfill it, but out of a delight in the operations of the universe about him and of his own mind. It delights him to exercise that mind, regardless of the way it takes him, just as it delights the lower animals, including those of his own species, to exercise their muscles. If he really differs qualitatively from those lower animals, as all the theologians agree, then that is the proof of it. It is not a soul that he has acquired; it is a way of thinking, a way of looking at the universe, a way of facing the impenetrable dark that must engulf him in the end, as it engulfs the birds of the air and the protozoa in the sea ooze.

Thus he faces death the inexorable—not, perhaps, with complete serenity, but at least with dignity, calm, a brave spirit. If he has not proved positively that religion is not true, then he has certainly proved that it is not necessary. Men may live decently without it and they may die courageously without it. . . .

The nobility, even grandeur of these attitudes voiced by Russell and Mencken is not to be denied, but that is not enough. The inexorable objection to them was put by Dostoevski into the mouth of Stepan Trofimovitch in *The Possessed*.

What is far more essential for man than personal happiness is to know and to believe at every instant that there is somewhere a perfect and serene happiness for all men and for everything. . . . The one essential condition of human existence is that man should always be able to bow down before something infinitely great. If men are deprived of the infinitely great, they will not go on living and will die of despair. The Infinite and the Eternal are as essential for man as the little planet on which he dwells. My friends, all, all: hail to the Great Idea! The Eternal, Infinite Idea! It is essential to every man, whoever

he may be, to bow down before what is the Great Idea. Even the stupidest man needs something great. . . .

The fault of the mystics is that they are too vague and uncertain. The human mind at its present stage of evolution demands the concrete. Man needs a rod and a staff to comfort him, and abstractions will not serve that purpose. The immaterial, however logical and rational, fails as a support in the face of the material. Tolstoi in his assumption that a philosophy must embrace both the finite and the infinite to be practically useful and satisfactory was psychologically sound.

The social world today is on the edge of chaos. The most habitual wearer of rose-colored glasses must admit it. A man who sings with Browning's Pippa

God's in his heaven—
All's right with the world!

is not an optimist; he is a fool. God died on November 24th, 1859, and every day since the mound of earth above His grave has been piled higher. Death reigns in the Laboratory of the Human Mind and manifests itself materially in society. Society is the living garment of man's mind, the material manifestation of the *Zeitgeist*. When man within himself is uncertain, his institutions totter and crumble. Daily the dispatches in the newspapers call to our minds the gloomy prognostications of Spengler and Ortega y Gasset and make the thinking man fearful that those philosophical Cassandras are right. Society gives every indication of decay. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* reads like a treatise on our time.

Yet decay is only another word for transition, and in that fact lies hope. Death and resurrection are one of the immutable laws of the universe from the great dead stars, hurtling through astronomical space to collide and begin over again their life cycle, to the plant dying in the garden to disintegrate into its elements and reappear in other forms. It is not mere fancy that has made man incorporate in nearly all his religions the legend of the death and resurrection of his God. The miracle is performed before his eyes in every round of the seasons.

Society is nevertheless diseased, sick from indigestion. The new, large, quickly accumulated body of scientific knowledge lies heavy and undigested within society. This condition is largely the fault of the scientists. They have produced knowledge with indifference as to its effect on man and his institutions. For a time the humanists were equally to blame. With narrow-minded jealousy they resisted the discoveries of science, denied their value, fought against the rival which was rapidly

occupying more and more of the intellectual provinces over which they had held entire sway. But that resistance is growing feebler and dying out. The humanist has been partially defeated and his defeat has brought him wisdom and tolerance. He is willing to unite and compromise for the purpose of discovering a truth and understanding the whole. But the act of unification demands at least two parts to be put together. The scientist must work with the humanist and that he refuses to do.

Science, being the most recent of the great fields of knowledge, has still the characteristics of the parvenu, the cocky boastfulness and false pride which hides, and at the same time signals, a sense of inferiority, uncertainty, the fear that any concessions may destroy its power, that when its secrets and mysteries are made common property the priest-like quality of the scientist, his prestige and distinction, will vanish. All branches of knowledge pass through this stage. From the earliest times the theologian, the priest, set himself apart, refused to explain his mysteries, for in these mysteries lay his power. For centuries the Bible remained the peculiar handbook of the priest. It was chained in the church and untranslated into the vernacular that its mysteries might reach the public only through the priests. The humanist did likewise. His philosophies, like the theories of the modern psychologist, were expressed in words which only the initiated could understand. For a long time even the mysteries of the hieroglyph and the alphabet were carefully guarded.

Theology and humanism have grown beyond this youthful stage. Science has not. It looks with scorn upon other fields of learning, claims its theories are incomprehensible to the uninitiated and makes that initiation a process of a lifetime. A few scientists, Millikan, Eddington, Compton, for instance, broader in their outlook, have realised this danger, have diagnosed society's disease, seen the results of too much scientific knowledge too little interpreted, but their efforts to bring about absorption and digestion of this knowledge have not been greeted by salvos of praise from their colleagues. Nor does one swallow make a spring. Until science outgrows its adolescent attitude, the world will stand still or continue to spin faster into chaos, for the stimulus to a new philosophy must come from the scientist. Herbert Dingle, Assistant Professor of Astrophysics at the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London, has pointed out this necessity and the reason for it in his essay, *Knowledge Without Understanding*.

.... since the present situation in philosophical physics is so extremely intricate, the ideally detached man is, humanly speaking, an impossibility. We cannot withdraw far enough from the scene to hold philosophy and physics in

equal scrutiny without losing essential details, and it follows that he who would attempt to solve our problem must be in some measure either a philosopher or a physicist at the present time the physicist has a better chance of obtaining a sufficient knowledge of philosophy than the philosopher has of obtaining a sufficient knowledge of physics, for the same reason that a seaman acquires land legs more quickly than a landsman acquires sea legs . . . the physicist can more easily obtain sufficient philosophical knowledge than the philosopher can acquire sufficient physical knowledge.

That man will find a new philosophy satisfactory to the humanist and scientist alike is certain. If nothing else drives him to it, self-preservation will, for man never has survived, and is so constituted that he never can survive in a universe that is either meaningless or a mere machine. In ancient India, in medieval Europe, in the distance-stretching kingdoms of the Mohammedan caliphs, man was better off than he is today, for the universe had meaning. The god-principle, that is, meaning, has taken many forms, has lived and died before and must live again. Only when there is meaning is it possible to endure "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune." When there is meaning, poverty, pain, disease, defeat, and death cease to be the cruel tortures of a meaningless futility and can be sustained. Without meaning they are intolerable and by them man is driven to madness or to die passively in defeat. In this last condition man finds himself today, and from this condition he must extricate himself. Until he does Death will continue to reign in the Laboratory of the Human Mind and social chaos will be man's lot.

HENRY ADAMS'S QUEST FOR CERTAINTY

ROBERT A. HUME

Purdue University

Of the myriad books published in this century, one of the few to attain distinguished individuality is *The Education of Henry Adams*.¹ Written in 1905, privately printed for a few readers in 1907, and finally given to the public in 1918, it is today rarely omitted from a list of works that "must be read" by anyone wishing to acquaint himself with the best in American culture and thought.

Despite the high recommendation which the book usually receives, however, it is perhaps not often understood. The fact that its author was grandson of one President and great-grandson of another tends, of course, to win it the uncritical deference of many Americans. That Henry Adams was known in his day as an eccentric near-genius, a man of transcendent abilities of which he himself was inexplicably contemptuous, has possibly served further to make some readers approach his life-story with a respect verging upon awe. Their respect is surely not diminished by the discovery that he always moved near, if not actually among, the prominent people and important happenings of his time; and it must deepen as they discern, in the final chapters of the *Education*, that his most arduous intellectual effort went toward devising "a historical formula that should satisfy the conditions of the stellar universe"²—in terms scarcely more comprehensible at times than the stellar universe itself.

The question of mere readability, however, would seem to be minor. Probably the *Education* must stand or fall with the intellectual validity of this final section wherein Adams strives to give history a scientific basis and thus resolve some of the innumerable uncertainties by which he, like many another who has thoughtfully contemplated man and the universe, was deeply annoyed. Though the general literary qualities of the book are noteworthy, its rank is probably much less than immortal—unless, indeed, one find in its concluding pages something of that clew

¹ Henry Adams (1838–1918), *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. References in this essay are consistently to this edition, designated as the *Education*.

² *Education*, p. 376.

to human destiny after which its author so audaciously inquired. The present study seeks to determine, by a careful evaluation of the dynamic theory of history, whether such a clew be present.

The dynamic theory, the reader will remember, represents Adams's effort to make the study of history a science by applying to it the principles of physics. Preliminary to the formulation of the theory was the task of fixing two historical "points": one in the Thirteenth Century, regarded as an age of unity; the other in the Twentieth, regarded as an age of multiplicity. Thus he wrote *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (1904)³ and the *Education*, dealing respectively with these two centuries. By the terms of the dynamic theory it was necessary to show the two points connected by a causative sequence of physical forces. Obedient to this necessity, Adams strives in the *Education* to set up a logical analogy between the Virgin of the Thirteenth Century and the dynamo of the Twentieth—each being considered as a symbol or embodiment of infinite force. Pursuing his theory further, he argues that if the discovered forces of nature be conceived of as one energy or "mass," and the mind of man as another, then by the rule of physics that a larger mass attracts a smaller it may be asserted that the forces of nature capture man, and not *vice versa*. Thus, the accumulation of mechanical powers, which has helped make our century one of multiplicity and confusion, is an inevitable process over which man has no more control than over the operation of the law of gravity. The increasingly rapid accumulation of these forces is explainable, Adams thinks, by reference to a law of acceleration. To supplement his theory as offered in the *Education*, he invokes in his *Letter to the American Teachers of History* (1910)⁴ Lord Kelvin's second law of thermodynamics to prove that all "forces," including the mind and will of man, are undergoing a hastening disintegration. Another supplement, probably less important, and not strictly under the heading of dynamics, may be perused in the *Rule of Phase Applied to History*,⁵ which employs, rather strangely, a mathematical hypothesis propounded by Josiah Willard Gibbs. The conclusion to be drawn from all of Adams's scientific-historical theorizing is, of course, pessimistic in the extreme,

³ The edition cited in this essay is that of the Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1936. It will be referred to simply as *Chartres*.

⁴ Reprinted in his posthumous *Degradation of the Democratic Dogma: With an Introduction by Brooks Adams* (New York, Macmillan Co., 1919), pp. 135-263. It will be referred to in this essay as the *Letter to Teachers*, or simply as the *Letter*.

⁵ This essay, written in 1908, was not published until after Adams's death, in the *Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*, pp. 265-311. It will be cited here by use of the single word *Phase*.

pointing to imminent social chaos. Nor can man expect to surmount the chaos, because his vital forces, subject to the universal dissipation posited in Kelvin's second law, are falling steadily toward a general dead level of inactivity.

In undertaking a direct examination of Adams's dynamic theory, we may ascertain first to what extent he succeeded in establishing his two necessary "points of relation." The earlier of these two points, it will be recalled, was the century 1150-1250, which represented to Adams "the point of history when man held the highest idea of himself as a unit in a unified universe."⁶ With this century he dealt in his *Chartres*. The second point was the Twentieth Century, with which he dealt in the *Education*. According to the terms of his theory, these points were not to be regarded as two separate, isolated historical phenomena. It would have to appear, if history were a science, that they were demonstrably related, that the later one was, though remotely, a logical derivative of the earlier. It was Adams's task, more precisely, to show that a certain force or forces in the Thirteenth Century had in one form or another continued operative into the Twentieth; only thus could a line of causation be drawn between the two points and extended into the future, marking with approximate accuracy the course which society had followed and would follow.

Adams's hypothesis of the relationship between these two points is strongly implied in the respective sub-titles formulated for his two books: *A Study of Thirteenth-Century Unity* and *A Study of Twentieth-Century Multiplicity*. "The movement from unity into multiplicity, between 1200 and 1900," he avers, "was unbroken in sequence, and rapid in acceleration";⁷ and he thought that this movement might be studied "in philosophy and mechanics." Offhand there does seem plausibility in supposing, let us say, that the philosophy of Henry Adams himself, which defined the whole creation as chaos, was descended by a sequence of disintegration from the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, which defined the creation as perfect unity. Only when we pause to consider that Aquinas was a child of faith and medieval logic, whereas Adams was a child of skepticism and modern science, do we become doubtful of intellectual relationship between the two. Whatever Adams, as a philosopher, had in common with Aquinas—the love of wisdom and a deep desire to discover truth—he had in common also with Marcus Aurelius and Confucius.

If "energy" be understood in terms of religious and emotional intensity, one must grant that the builders of Chartres cathedral displayed

⁶ *Education*, pp. 434 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

such energy to a high degree; they evidently possessed as they labored a perfect "unity of hearts."⁸ On the other hand, one wonders if the scene at the construction of the Cathedral—even though duplicated hundreds of times throughout France—warrants concluding that all of Europe was at the same time as nearly perfect a unity as was the relatively small group of people engaged at any one moment in erecting an edifice to the glory of the Virgin. Adams describes, in the concluding chapters of *Chartres*, some of the violent dissension that existed within the very bosom of the church, and intimates that there might have been still more disunity had not that institution seen fit to close its eyes to numerous contradictions:

A Church which embraced, with equal sympathy, and within a hundred years, the Virgin, Saint Bernard, William of Champeaux and the School of Saint-Victor, Peter the Venerable, Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Bonaventure, was more liberal than any modern State can afford to be.⁹

And if one recalls, partly with Adams's help, that when the people of the Middle Ages were not engaged in building cathedrals, they were fully capable of fraud, warfare, and murder,¹⁰ one suspects that Adams, by an over-enthusiastic emphasis upon one aspect of medieval life, asserted a degree of unity which was in fact non-existent. Since his theory postulates Thirteenth Century unity, such a suspicion is very unsettling.

The uncertainty grows as we consider the "movement," as Adams tries to present it, in mechanics. What, in the realm of mechanical force, was the Thirteenth Century unity which by steady acceleration has broken up into Twentieth Century multiplicity? Despite much ingenious discussion, Adams gives no satisfying answer to this very important question. The Thirteenth Century, he tells us, had the Virgin; the Twentieth has the dynamo. By laying down a broad definition of force ("anything that does, or helps to do work") and giving it an incredibly broad interpretation, he seems, at least in some of his pages, to classify Virgin and dynamo as forces together. The Virgin, he assures us, was the force that built Chartres cathedral.¹¹ However effective as metaphor, this is by no means sufficient for a theory which regards history rigidly as a record of the sequence of correlative forces. If one is interested in tracing the sequence leading to the dynamo, he

⁸ See *Chartres*, p. 102.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

¹⁰ "In deep secrecy I may confide to you that the Abbeys of the twelfth-century were the source of more literary fraud,—and I go no further, in charity,—than any modern syndicate of labor unions. They were workshops of forgery. . . ." (Letter from Adams to Charles Milnes Gaskell, Sept. 8, 1911, in Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Letters of Henry Adams*, II [Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1938], p. 571. This volume will henceforth be cited as *Letters*, II.) For a reference to the "atrocious murder of the Prior of Saint-Victor" see *Chartres*, p. 307.

¹¹ *Education*, p. 388.

will find, surely, that it proceeds not from an exalted religious symbol, but from the ancient Greek who found that a piece of rubbed amber would attract thin wooden shavings, and from others of his intellectual kind. There is no need to quibble technically about dynes and poundals in order to see that the Virgin and the dynamo represent entirely different realms of "force"—so different that a convincing common value for them cannot be found. One may point out, indeed, as Adams does, that both deity and electricity are mysterious, and that they both "attract" the human mind;¹² one may virtually transpose them by speaking of the Virgin as though she were a magnet and by inditing a prayer to the dynamo; but the basic question of how to discern true scientific sequence between them remains unanswered.

Pertinent to this problem is a question about historical periods preceding the Thirteenth Century. Accepting for momentary convenience Adams's hypothesis that history since 1250 has consisted of the breaking down of forces from unity into multiplicity, why did not the same process take place before that date? Obviously there was an earlier time—say during the centuries when the Roman Empire was declining and Christianity, though destined to grow, was still but one of several religions—when Europe was far from being "a unity . . . in thought, will, and object." But this time of discord was finally succeeded, if we momentarily assume as correct Adams's interpretation of the Middle Ages, by a time of perfect unity. In other words, we must believe that the sequence of force in history worked one way (from multiplicity into unity) until the time of Aquinas, and that thereafter it reversed itself. Such a view may do no violence to concepts we ourselves hold, but it should have distressed Adams, since it was his hypothesis that the dynamic law must move onward with logical rigidity, at an ever-accelerating rate, until civilization disappears into chaos. Nor is Adams's theorizing strengthened by his statement, made in a letter to Albert Stanburrough Cook,¹³ that he would rather have fixed his starting point in primitive society, or in the society of the Seventh Century B.C., instead of in the Middle Ages. These too, we infer, must have been considered by Adams to be points in history characterized by unity; the unity could hardly have surpassed that of the Middle Ages, however, since that, we are told, was perfect. Adams seems to have been conceding, then, perhaps without realizing it, that mankind in the past has known at least three moments of unity. May not one hope that more will come? But such a possibility, suggesting that society through unreckoned ages may experience recurrent pulsations of intense intellectual and spiritual

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 389.

¹³ August 6, 1910, *Letters*, II, 546 f.

being, involving "unity," is not given recognition by Adams's logic. He leaves us only with the pessimistic assurance that force since the Thirteenth Century has moved steadily from unity into multiplicity and that, lacking some sudden and splendid reaction of the human mind, it must soon bring us to entire chaos and to the breakdown of civilization. Even should a breakdown occur or be occurring, an observer might be forgiven for denying it to be dictated by the terms of Adams's dynamic theory. He does not, it must be repeated, show as convincingly as his theory requires that the "forces" at work in the Thirteenth and Twentieth Centuries are the same and that the two periods, thus, are amenable to the scientific treatment of interrelation which he undertakes to give them.

The dynamic theory of history as presented in the *Education* is mainly, as we have noted, an attempted explanation for the accumulation of mechanical forces. As the earth attracts the apple, thought Adams, so the forces of nature made manifest in a body of knowledge attract a human mind. "A dynamic law requires," said Adams, "that two masses—nature and man—must go on, reacting upon each other, without stop. . . ." ¹⁴ This is suggestive analogy, and instructive as such, but surely it is hard to accept in a literal, scientific sense. Yet so it must be accepted if it is to have the validity for which Adams hoped. "If the student means to try the experiment of framing a dynamic law," he admitted, "he must assign values to the forces of attraction." ¹⁵ A physicist trying to calculate the attractive forces at work between the earth and the apple may do so quite satisfactorily by the aid of a formula: $F = \frac{G mm'}{r^2}$, in which m and m' are the respective masses of the two bodies and r is the distance between their centers. ¹⁶ But when one turns from a consideration of tangibles such as the earth and the apple, to intangibles such as a force of nature and the human mind, the formula becomes useless. What are the respective masses, we ask helplessly, of a force of nature and the human mind? More perplexing yet, what is the distance between their centers? Conceivably, substitute values for m and r might be discovered, but Adams does not suggest any.

The basic difficulty seems to reside in a profound confusion of concepts. "Attraction" as a scientific term for the force exerted by one physical mass upon another is one thing; "attraction" as a loosely used

¹⁴ *Education*, p. 478.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ The formula, with an explanation of it, is in Frederick A. Saunders, *A Survey of Physics* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1936), p. 120.

popular word suggesting the stimulation of human interest is quite another. One may say properly that gravity is an attraction; one may also say properly, but with entirely different implications, that love is an attraction; it is absurd to say, except in mere metaphor, that love is gravity. An English critic observes:

.... Various scientific "laws" state that between the scientific meanings of these words certain relations are invariable. This was enough for Henry Adams, and he proceeded to state that between any meanings the same relations are invariable. The effect of this method upon the reader is very curious. He is continually in the state of a man who has a name "on the tip of his tongue." One is always just on the point of attaching a meaning to Henry Adams' remarks, and the meaning always eludes one.¹⁷

In justice to Adams it should be pointed out that he himself was at least partly aware of the logical hazard in applying the terminology of science to history. In the *Letter to Teachers* he grants that "few physicists would be likely to see any sense in this personal application of their law,"¹⁸ and in the *Education* he remarks that "the knife-edge along which he [Adams] must crawl, like Sir Lancelot in the twelfth century, divided two kingdoms of force which had nothing in common but attraction."¹⁹ The ambiguity of the word "attraction," as here used, we have already noted. That Adams persisted in his effort to reduce history to a science when he himself realized many of the difficulties involved, can probably be attributed in part simply to his intense desire to achieve such an end whatever the obstacles, and in part to a mental habit of trying a thing thoroughly before being willing to relinquish it.

Even if in an effort to be absolutely fair one grants to Adams that man's mind is attracted by superior force, much as his body is, there are still perplexities in the way. By the definition, offered in the *Education*, that a force is "anything that does, or helps to do work," a dynamo is obviously a force and, by the terms of the theory, it (or does Adams mean just the idea of it?) "attracts" men's minds. Again, according to the theory, these minds inevitably add to knowledge concerning the dynamo, make possible its increase in number, size, and power. What is true of the dynamo is true of all machines. Thus do society's myriad and confusing problems grow. And there is, unfortunately, no compensating increase in man's social ingenuity, to keep pace with the technical achievement; on the contrary, one notes Adams's conviction that in obedience to Kelvin's second law of thermodynamics man's social ingenuity or "energy" is rapidly dwindling. But what Adams ignores is that, according to his own terminology, social and political

¹⁷ "J. W. N. S." [J. W. N. Sullivan], "The Power of Words," *Athenaeum*, I (1920), 665.

¹⁸ *Letter*, p. 236.

¹⁹ *Education*, p. 383.

institutions are as truly "forces" as are the mechanisms of applied science: systems and institutions also do or help to do "work." This being true, they should be subject to the same inevitable growth as bodies of mechanical knowledge. Applying the law of mass as Adams did, it is reasonable to suppose that if the force contained, say, in the science of electricity attracts men's minds to new discoveries and achievements, so also must the force contained in the "science" of government. The two bodies of knowledge should, by the theory, grow continually; there would seem to be no reason why technique in government should lag so lamentably as it does behind the science of electricity. That this is nowhere suggested in the *Education* leads one to surmise that when Adams wrote the book he was thinking of force narrowly in terms of applied science, despite his very comprehensive definition. His portentous comments on man's failing social and political ingenuity are made, apparently, without any realization that they contradict his assertion of a universally applicable dynamic theory. Obviously, only by applying the theory in a partial and illogical fashion can he make it seem to explain society's desperate plight.

Another difficulty pertains to Adams's necessary concession that not all human minds are attracted by nature's forces. The mind of Thomas Edison, let us say, "responds" to the force of electricity; however, the mind of John Doe does not, even though John Doe may later display a type of acquiescence to the force of electricity by using the devices which Edison invents. Manifestly, however, the constant growth, if not the very existence, of that "attraction" exerted by electricity on the human mind depends on each generation's containing an appreciable number of Edisons. If it be true that the human stock is deteriorating (a possibility to which Adams refers ominously in his *Letter to Teachers*²⁰), and tends more and more to produce a depressing preponderance of John Does, the operation of Adams's dynamic theory must perforce subside, instead of accelerate. In Asia and Africa, the theory has lagged astonishingly, a fact which Adams leaves unexplained.

An informed physicist might discourse at length on another weakness inherent in Adams's scientific treatment of history in the *Education*—resulting from changes that have taken place, since 1905, in physical concepts.²¹ Even one not a physicist is aware that some of the Newtonian principles with which Adams worked have undergone revision,

²⁰ Pp. 186 f.

²¹ For a criticism on this basis, particularly of the special aspect of Adams's theory offered in *Phase*, see Roy F. Nichols, "The Dynamic Interpretation of History," *New England Quarterly*, VIII (June, 1935), 163-178.

thanks to Einstein and others. Consider, says James Truslow Adams, the idea of gravitation:

So long as it was conceived of as a pull or a force or an attraction it was much easier to play with such transpositions as Adams made, and to consider the "attraction" of the earth for an apple and the "attraction" of occult power for mind as obeying similar laws, but when gravitation becomes a function of curved space, the situation becomes different even for the most easily satisfied mind.²²

Since it seems to be true, further, that the theory of relativity in its general form destroys the earlier conception of the constancy of mass and of energy,²³ Adams's basic assumptions are in serious jeopardy. Most unsettling of all, perhaps, are statements, such as one by Professor Bridgman of Harvard, to the effect that "as we penetrate ever deeper, the very law of cause and effect, which we had thought to be a formula to which we could force God himself to subscribe, ceases to have meaning. The world is not intrinsically reasonable or understandable. . . ."²⁴ A critic striving to be fair might urge that this statement simply indicates that we have arrived at the chaos which Adams foretold; the import plainly is, however, not that the world has finally become chaotic, but that it has always been so, and that thus it has never been fundamentally amenable to an analysis such as Adams sought to give it. In chaos, sequences do not exist. One of the anomalies of the *Education* is that no one was more fully convinced than Adams himself that "Chaos was the law of nature" and that "Order was the dream of man."²⁵ Yet he was determined to find in this chaos order and logic.

As his discussion in the *Letter to Teachers* reveals, Adams was impressed by the hypothesis that the vital energy of man—which is necessarily one aspect of nature's total energy—must share in the universal decline adumbrated by Lord Kelvin. We may note in passing that this second law of thermodynamics, along with the first law (which posits the indestructibility of energy), seems still to be respected by physicists.²⁶ In other words, though energy can be neither created nor destroyed, there is taking place a constant leveling down from a higher to a lower intensity. The energy in a ton of coal, we can affirm, remains in the universe even after the coal has been burnt, but in a form dissipated and not available for man's use. In effect, thus, as far as man and his life upon the earth are concerned, the powers of nature are not limitless. There is evidence that till after 1905 Adams had not pondered fully the possible historical import of this principle, for although

²² James Truslow Adams, *The Tempo of Modern Life* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, Inc., 1931), p. 230.

²³ See Saunders, *A Survey of Physics*, p. 663.

²⁴ Quoted *ibid.*, p. 229.

²⁵ *Education*, p. 451.

²⁶ See Saunders, *A Survey of Physics*, p. 233.

Kelvin is mentioned in the *Education*,²⁷ we find such statements as the one that "... Science, for fifty years, permitted, or encouraged, society to think that force would prove to be limited in supply. This mental inertia of science lasted through the 'eighties before showing signs of breaking up; and nothing short of radium fairly wakened men to the fact, long since evident, that force was inexhaustible."²⁸ Inexhaustible one might rejoin, in the sense of the first law of thermodynamics, but not in the sense of the second, which is man's chief anxiety. As time went on Adams tended in his letters to talk less about the growth and acceleration of nature's forces, a principle asserted in the *Education* which we have just examined, and tended to talk more about their dissipation and deterioration, a principle asserted in the *Letter*. It may be seen that in a practical sense, whatever the metaphysical reconciliations, there is serious contradiction between the two assertions. The forces available to man through his own mechanical ingenuity may be increasing at the moment, but they cannot go on increasing indefinitely if all forces are steadily falling to a dead level.

Adams's conviction that man's mental energy is dwindling becomes the more baffling when one remembers what he considered the mind to be. In the *Letter* he accepts the view of the majority of the physiologists he had read and regards thought "as a more or less degraded Act,—an enfeebled function of Will."²⁹ Intellect, having come about by a "progressive enfeeblement of will," is thus a product of the workings of Kelvin's second law. But if this be true, why should not the further workings of the law result in still more mind? By Adams's very argument, surely, an increase in mind and intellect, and not a decrease, must result from the still further enfeeblement of that original strong vital "energy"—call it will, intuition, or instinct—of which mind and intellect are the degradation. Intellect, one would suppose, comes not from the abundance of energy, but from its strategic application.

This leads directly to the criticism that Adams, in his alarm at the apparent dwindling of man's vital energies, has adopted a quantitative standard of values from which even the most rigorously objective physiologist or physicist might dissent. Granted that in terms of force the thoughtful man of today is a feebler specimen than his intuitive, ape-like ancestor of 500,000 years ago, does it follow that the man is in all ways inferior? One does not have to be an irresponsible egotist to answer unhesitatingly in the negative. Even Adams, when not writing strictly in terms of the second thermodynamic law, had little but fear and contempt to express for the type of men in whom:

²⁷ P. 401.²⁸ P. 494.²⁹ *Letter*, p. 203.

... the intellect counted for nothing; only the energy counted. The type was pre-intellectual, archaic. . . . Men whose energies were the greater, the less they wasted on thought . . . ; always needing stimulants, but for whom action was the highest stimulant—the instinct of fight. Such men were forces of nature, energies of the prime, like the *Pteraspis*, but they made short work of scholars.³⁰

Yet, writing in the *Letter*, Adams seems to adopt whole-heartedly the view that the mind is a symbol of degradation and that modern man, in contrast to his remote and mindless predecessors, is a sorry creature. Most of us, if fairly consulted, would probably decide that a certain amount of vital energy is little enough to exchange for the gift of thought. The essential question for civilization, surely, is not how much energy man and society have, but what they may do with it. It would be hard to say this more tellingly than William James did in a letter written to Adams in 1910, just before James's own death:

... The *amount* of cosmic energy it costs to buy a certain distribution of fact which humanly we regard as precious, seems to be an altogether secondary matter as regards the question of history and progress. . . . Physically a dinosaur's brain may show as much intensity of energy-exchange as a man's but it can do infinitely fewer things. . . . Though the ultimate state of the universe may be its vital and psychical extinction, there is nothing in physics to interfere with the hypothesis that the penultimate state might be the millennium—in other words a state in which a minimum of difference of energy-level might have its exchanges so skillfully canalised that a maximum of happy and virtuous consciousness would be the only result. . . . You seem to me not to discriminate, but to treat quantity and distribution of energy as if they formed one question.³¹

One can add little to this striking bit of analysis except perhaps to mention a possibility, not amenable to proof or disproof, on which the religionist would insist and which many a scientist is glad to allow: that man has a spiritual and immortal part with which no scientific treatment is sufficient to reckon, and that no theory which tries to predict the future solely in terms of material energy can be accepted without reservation. Even Adams, for whom orthodox belief was impossible, seemed at moments to come near asserting that human thought, if not divine, is at least not to be classified neatly as being only another natural energy, but as an energy of a very special, perhaps preternatural kind, "paying no regard to space or time or order or object or sense. . . ."³² "Calculated in terms of energy," he wrote to Gaskell, "the whole problem becomes simpler, but I am puzzled to convert our vital energy and thought into terms of physical energy."³³ Such an acknowledgment, written in 1914, is one of several indicating how well he himself may have known that his quest for certainty was forlorn.

³⁰ *Education*, p. 265.

³¹ *Letters of William James* (2 vols., Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, c. 1920), II (June 17, 1910), 344 ff.

³² *Chartres*, p. 373.

³³ *Letters*, II (June 1, 1914), 623.

A searching criticism of the scientific theory of history, then, raises many serious demurrers to its validity. In propounding the theory, Adams did not convincingly establish its main terms; a thoughtful reader remains skeptical of a demonstrable sequence between the unity of the Thirteenth Century—a unity which Adams did not fully prove—and the multiplicity of the Twentieth. In this connection, the confusion resulting from trying to employ scientific terminology, with its highly technical implications, within the field of history is apparent. Other objections relate to Adams's perhaps unconscious failure to explain why, according to his own suppositions, the dynamic theory has worked since 1300 but did not work before that date, and why only particular human minds are affected by nature's forces, when, according to the terms of his theory, the forces should affect all minds. Adams also neglects to consider the role of sheer accident and that of deliberate human interference—both influences that may frequently interrupt, and thus render impossible, any certainly predictable sequence in history. There is seen, further, to be some contradiction in practical terms between his theory as presented in the *Education* and as supplemented in the *Letter to Teachers*, since forces available to man cannot be destined both to accumulate and deteriorate. His use of Kelvin's second law of thermodynamics is open to numerous objections, of which the most serious probably is that by it he is led to ignore an important distinction between quantity and quality, between the available amount of a given energy and the particular mode of its distribution.

Henry Adams's attempt to make history a science must thus be set down as failure. Such a judgment does not, of course, affect the value of Adams's theory as metaphor. When journalists are writing without hesitation that "the civilization of modern Europe . . . is in an unmistakable process of deterioration and decay,"³⁴ there must be many people who feel that Adams's pessimism was, consciously or not, well founded, and that a description of contemporary society as an enfeebled organism floundering in a chaos of supersensual forces fits it all too well. It is plain from Adams's private letters and from the earlier pages of the *Education* that he had lost hope in mankind long before he began to think in terms of masses and forces and the second law of thermodynamics. His theory of history was thus, in one sense, no more than an elaborate afterthought, a framework in which to set conclusions already reached. But there is pathos in realizing that evidently he sought not metaphor but scientific truth.

³⁴ William Henry Chamberlain, "The War to End Europe," *Forum and Century*, CIII (March, 1940), p. 101.

Even as metaphor the theory is laborious. One wishes that Adams had asserted his mood briefly, without recourse to his profound and extensive erudition. As effective, perhaps, as the whole dynamic theory of history, and surely more readable, are Yeats's eight simple lines:

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.³⁵

Failures are often tolerated, however, if they are interesting; and Adams's failure is more than that. It is proof that even for a mind of high rank, the quest for certainty may lead at last to the *reductio ad absurdum*. One must not conclude, of course, that the task of applying science to history is impossible and that it should not be attempted again. A different procedure might bring success. For the present, however, practical wisdom seems to say that human events are unpredictable, and that time is a recurring challenge to man's prudence and courage.

As for *The Education of Henry Adams*, one must observe that it contains defects which parallel those of its author. Adams was a discerning man, but he was not a seer. The illogicalities of his dynamic theory suggest that his intellectual powers were not, in the final analysis, fully trustworthy; and—partly because of innate limitations, partly because he was forever harassed by uncertainties not to be resolved—he brought to his writing no fine warmth of sympathy, no fire of imagination, no largeness of vision that might have won for him an heroic place in our literature. This is not to deny that the *Education* furnishes a challenging study not alone of an especially interesting and courageous personality, but of that clash between two modes of life and thought—the old and the new, the Eighteenth Century and the Twentieth—from which has emerged contemporary America. It is impossible to read such a book without contemplating the most serious problems which now beset both the individual and society. To the high name of classic, to which some of its admirers seem inclined to elevate it, it presents questionable claim; but it is, and probably will remain, worthy to rank among the more rewarding books of this century.

³⁵ William Butler Yeats, "The Second Coming," in *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), p. 215.

DIPLOMATS IN MODERN FRENCH LITERATURE

WILLIAM LEONARD SCHWARTZ

Stanford University

A few years ago, it may have seemed to a hopeful writer that the best preparation for a career in letters was a medical education. But in the France of the 1920's, when the writings of Claudel, Giraudoux, and Morand were strengthening the promise of a post-war renaissance, it appeared for a time that only "la Carrière," that is, a post in the diplomatic and consular service, could give Frenchmen the world outlook needed to interpret their times. To be sure, literary history records that throughout the modern period, there was some French writer of note on the staff of their foreign service. The difference in our own century was the simultaneous recognition given several fresh talents attached to the Quai d'Orsay.

It is true in all countries that certain members of their foreign service hold a higher place in literature than in diplomatic history. Names of writers who illustrate this truth rise instantly to mind. Since many young Americans entertain the idea of a diplomatic career at the time when they are studying French, this circumstance suggested making a study of the diplomats who figure down the years in modern French letters. This survey, to make it more significant, has been made through the twofold realm of life and literature. In the first part of this chapter, I am presenting what I have found out about the flesh and blood diplomats who have contributed to French literature. This done, I shall present a fairly complete roster of those diplomats, the creatures of the French imagination, who are to be met in any large library. I am using the word "diplomat" to denote only a member of the diplomatic or consular corps liable to service abroad.¹ I shall only mention in passing the place given to ministers of state like Talleyrand, Poincaré, and Briand in the books of Balzac and Giraudoux. Besides, I shall only speak of those fortunate diplomats who possess acknowledged literary gifts, passing over, for example, among diplomats once enrolled in the Académie Française, scholars like Waddington and Melchior de Vogué,

¹ Uniform examinations for the French diplomatic and consular services, permitting transfer from one corps to the other, were instituted in 1884. Cf. G. Hanotaux, *Mon Temps* (Paris, 1938), II, pp. 373-378.

administrators like Jonnart; Maurice Paléologue and the other writers of those diplomatic memoirs for which France is so well known.

At the beginning of the XIXth century, it soon became a French practice to reward writers with posts as representatives of their country abroad.² But Napoleon's appointment of the author of *Le Génie du Christianisme* to a post at Rome in 1803, and Chateaubriand's promotion in 1804, were rewards that in reality failed to foster his literary development.³ Chateaubriand's ambassadorships under the Bourbons: Berlin, 1821, London, 1822, Rome, 1828, were given him for political rather than literary reasons. Under the same Bourbons, Lamartine was given the post of *attaché d'ambassade* at Naples in 1820, when his admirer, M. Pasquier, was made minister of foreign affairs a few days before Lamartine's *Premières Méditations Poétiques* were published. The poet returned to France in 1821, but accepted promotion as secretary to the embassy at Florence, 1825–1828, resigning through lassitude and a regret for lost poetical inspiration. His appointment as minister to Athens was nullified by the revolution of 1830.

The first years of the Orléanist monarchy brought Count Molé's appointment of Stendhal as consul at Trieste in 1830, and then at Civita-Vecchia, where Beyle held a sinecure and wrote from 1831 until his death in 1842 at Paris.⁴ And it was by a caprice of the Comte d'Harcourt, named ambassador to Madrid in 1830, that the young poet Antoine Fontaney (1803–1837) was attached to this post from 1830 to 1834.⁵

It is during the second half of the XIXth century that the French foreign service begins to gather recruits who, if diplomats by choice of career, are best remembered now for their writings. Joseph-Arthur Gobineau, 1816–1882, had already written four novels and a play

² All such appointments were made by favor until about 1875. However, French men of letters at the height of their career have seldom been named to diplomatic posts. In 1848, Victor Hugo was offered an ambassadorship at Naples or Madrid by the Prince-President, but these were refused by the poet whose pen had helped Louis Bonaparte (Cf. P. de Lacretelle, *Vie politique de Victor Hugo* [Paris, 1928], p. 108). In the last years of the Second Empire, Prévost-Paradol accepted appointment as Minister to Washington with a mission to reassure the American President about the peaceful policies of the régime. Immediately after presenting his credentials to Grant, Prévost-Paradol learned of the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War and shot himself.

³ May I mention the fact that Joseph de Maistre, author of the *Considérations sur la France*, *Les Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*, etc., was not in the French service. He was named ambassador to the Czar's court in 1802 by Victor Emmanuel I, then king of Sardinia.

⁴ Consult E. Jourda, *État présent des études stendhaliennes* (Paris, 1930), pp. 115–116, "VI. Le Consulat de Civita-Vecchia."

⁵ Fontaney won admission to the romantic *cénacles*, but this *enfant perdu du siècle* is now remembered only for his diary: *Journal Intime*, avec introduction et des notes par René Jasinski, Paris, 1925.

when he entered French diplomacy in 1849, under the aegis of Alexis de Tocqueville. During his fertile years as a writer, Gobineau represented France in Switzerland, Persia, Greece, Newfoundland, Brazil, and Sweden. But if his sociological ideas were of little importance during his life-time, the diplomat Eugène de Vogüé had an immediate influence on contemporary tendencies in literary taste. The author of *Le Roman russe* (1886), the first timid French eulogy of Russian fiction, entered the diplomatic service in 1877, lived in Constantinople and Cairo, and resigned in 1882 from his post at Saint Petersburg. Next, as an American, I gladly notice the services of Jules Jusserand (1855–1932), whose accomplishments as a literary historian are more memorable than his fifty odd years during which he represented his country abroad. Another specialist in English literature, Abel Chevalley (1868–1933), to whom we owe the *Concise Oxford French Dictionary*, entered “la Carrière” in 1905 as Consul-General at Pretoria. However, most of his writings were published after his retirement, circa 1922.⁶

I am now free to speak of the living authors who have lately graced the cadres of the Quai d’Orsay.⁷ Paul Claudel, born in 1868, studied at the École Libre des Sciences Politiques, and was admitted to the consular service in 1892. His major poetical and prose works were written during his consular and diplomatic career, since he only retired in 1935. His younger colleague, Jean Giraudoux, born in 1882, educated at the École Normale Supérieure, had travelled widely in Europe and America before this admission to the foreign service in 1909, a year after the publication of *Provinciales*, his first book.⁸ Giraudoux’s fruitful connection with the Quai d’Orsay was only broken while on active service in the World War, though his duties were discharged for years in Paris. Like Claudel, Giraudoux enjoyed the esteem of the late Philippe Berthelot, head of the political department of the Ministry. M. Alexis Léger, born in 1887, succeeded to this office in 1929. Under two pen-names, M. Léger enjoys a high reputation as a sibylline poet.⁹

⁶ Gabriel Hanotaux, the dean of French history and diplomacy, born in 1853, attached to the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1879, councilor of the embassy at Constantinople in 1885, had published little except his famous *Histoire de Richelieu* before he withdrew from political life in 1898.

⁷ Henry J.-M. Levet, 1874–1906, whose exotic *Poèmes* were collected for publication in 1921 by L.-P. Fargue and V. Larbaud, had ceased writing before his entry into the French consular corps, 1902.

⁸ Cf. G. E. Lemaitre, *Four French Novelists* (New York, 1938), pp. 209–224.

⁹ His *Éloges*, 1913, signed “Saintléger-Léger,” were published before the poet’s entry into the diplomatic service in 1916. His *Anabase*, 1925, signed “St.-J. Perse,” reminiscent of service in Shanghai, 1917, and Peking, 1919, was even translated into English by T. S. Eliot (1930). M. Léger was deprived of French citizenship on Oct. 22, 1940.

Paul Morand, born in 1888, whose career as a writer is somewhat obscured by legend, was partly educated abroad, but entered "la Carrière" through the training of the École des Sciences Politiques about 1912, serving abroad from 1913 to 1919.¹⁰ A tour of duty then kept Morand in the capital until 1925, years during which his writings were eagerly read as interpretations of the post-war era. Appointed minister to Siam in 1925, the author of *Rien que la Terre* completed his first trip round the world upon resigning the Bangkok post. In 1927, Morand asked to be placed *en disponibilité*. But in 1932, he headed the official tourist bureau under his old ministry, to be ultimately ordered to London during the Hitlerian War.

Many critics have speculated upon the influence which service abroad may have exerted upon these writing diplomats. Paul Morand's own solution of this problem is highly sagacious. It was set forth in an interview with Frédéric Lefèvre in 1924:

Croyez-vous que ce soit pur hasard si les écrivains qui ont laissé chez nous depuis cent ans les traces les plus profondes sont des Français ayant vécu hors de France, le plus souvent malgré eux . . . Tous ceux qui ont marqué une époque sont de nobles déserteurs: Chateaubriand pour le début du XIX^e, Stendhal pour 1830, Claudel pour 1900, de nos jours Gobineau, Lautréamont, Rimbaud, jusqu'à ce doux J.-M. Levet qui boit de l'eau du Gange dans la calotte de François Coppée et qui a ses disciples.

Cela s'explique: la vie à l'étranger, avec son isolement terrible, ses heures désolées, ses ivresses de désert, met l'homme sur un plan supérieur qui le révèle plus complètement à soi-même et l'impose ensuite à son propre pays. Sans parler de la valeur sobre de l'éclat que prend le moindre mot français quand on en a été privé depuis longtemps. . . .¹¹

My roster of French diplomats who have a place in belles lettres since the Revolution includes only eleven names. I now go on with my promised report on the diplomat in French imaginative literature. It may be said at once, without fear of contradiction, that there are comparatively few diplomats among the thousand characters of reputable French fiction and drama. Nevertheless, André Thérive once asked, while making a "Plaidoyer pour le Naturalisme" in *Comœdia* for May 3, 1927:

Est-ce que vous n'avez pas assez de lire ces livres où l'on est toujours secrétaire d'ambassade *in partibus*, littérateur génial attaché au cabinet des médailles?

But this was the unconsidered protest of a critic who was still young

¹⁰ Lemaitre, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-330.

¹¹ See P. Morand, *Papiers d'Identité* (Paris, 1931), p. 19, or F. Lefèvre, *Une Heure avec*, II (Paris, 1924), p. 31.

and obliged to review a mass of still-born fiction and the first works of authors of no promise. Thérive's protest surprised me then and has kept me interested in the subject ever since, because characters represented as diplomats are hard to find in major works of the French imagination.¹²

Actually, there are probably more characters tagged as diplomats in Balzac's *Comédie Humaine* than the casual reader would expect. A stereotyped attaché d'ambassade appears in the expository dialogue of *Madame Firmiani*, 1832, one of Balzac's first novelettes.¹³ Elsewhere, the reader discovers that Count Paul de Manerville has made the rounds of Europe as a diplomatic attaché before becoming the dupe in *Le Contrat de Mariage*, 1835. In *Le Lys dans la Vallée*, 1836, there is a glimpse of Charles de Vandenesse as an envoy to the Congress of Vienna, and at the close of the novel Balzac dates the début of Félix de Vandenesse, a younger brother, in the same service: "J'entrai dans la diplomatie à l'avènement de Charles X." Another reappearing character belonging to the diplomatic profession is the Duc de Rhétoré. Moreover, the story of *Honorine*, 1843, is told at Genoa by Consul-General de l'Hostal, in the presence of the French Ambassador, supposed to be a distinguished writer, and an unnamed First Secretary. Balzac only gives the Consul a striking likeness to Lord Byron and the possession of "le calme absolu des Anglais, des sauvages, des Orientaux et des diplomates consommés."¹⁴ But none of the above-mentioned diplomats are studied in the exercise of their profession.

I know also of three characters in the *Comédie* who end their lives in the diplomatic corps. The Marquis de Ronquerolles is to become "l'ambassadeur le plus habile après le prince de Talleyrand," it is announced in *La Fausse Maîtresse*, 1841.¹⁵ Baron de Canalis, the great poet, is an attaché of the Quai d'Orsay when courting Modeste Mignon

¹² As illustrations of the practice which Thérive deplored, I can point to the Ambassador in France's *Livre de mon Ami*, 1885, who is the husband of Pierre's "Dame en blanc"; François Prieur, Antoinette's lover in *Le Passé* by G. de Porto-Riche, 1897; and Louis Dubert, "vaguement attaché aux Affaires étrangères," the French tutor who tells the story of Marcel Prévost's *Monsieur et Madame Moloch*, 1906.

¹³ "*Un attaché d'ambassade*,—Madame Firmiani! N'est-elle pas d'Anvers? J'ai vu cette femme-là bien belle il y a dix ans. Elle était alors à Rome. Les sujets appartenant à la classe des Attachés ont la manie de dire des mots à la Talleyrand, leur esprit est souvent si fin, que leurs aperçus sont imperceptibles; ils ressemblent à ces joueurs de billard qui évitent les billes avec une adresse infinie. Ces individus sont généralement peu parleurs; mais quand ils parlent, ils ne s'occupent que de l'Espagne, de Vienne, de l'Italie ou de Pétersbourg. Les noms de pays sont chez eux comme des ressorts; pressez-les, la sonnerie vous dira tous ses airs." *Scènes de la vie privée*, Conard edition, III, p. 359.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, Conard edition, p. 317.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

and is appointed minister at Karlsruhe after the failure of his suit.¹⁶ Finally, Balzac always announces a future successful diplomat in the person of Martial de la Roche-Hugon whenever he mentions the young *maître des requêtes* found in one of his earliest stories, *La Paix du Ménage*, 1830. In the following portrait, characteristics will be noticed which Balzac mentions often when describing a supposed diplomat:

Le baron Martial de la Roche-Hugon était un jeune Provençal que Napoléon protégeait et qui semblait promis à quelque fastueuse ambassade, il avait séduit l'Empereur par une complaisance italienne, par le génie de l'intrigue, par cette éloquence de salon et cette science des manières qui remplacent si facilement les éminentes qualités d'un homme solide. Quoique vive et jeune, sa figure possédait déjà l'éclat immobile du fer-blanc, l'une des qualités indispensables aux diplomates et qui leur permet de cacher leurs émotions, de déguiser leurs sentiments, si toutefois cette impassibilité n'annonce pas en eux l'absence de toute émotion et la mort des sentiments. On peut regarder le cœur des diplomates comme un problème insoluble, car les trois plus illustres ambassadeurs de l'époque se sont signalés par la persistance de la haine et par des attachements romanesques.¹⁷

There is also evidence from other sources besides Balzac's published works to show that he perceived the latent possibilities of the diplomat as a character in fiction, even if it is true that the really astute negotiators found in the *Comédie Humaine* are its notaries, lawyers, and priests. Thus Spoelberch de Lovenjoul mentions in his *Histoire des Œuvres de H. de Balzac*, pp. 332 and 336, two titles for diplomatic scenes which Balzac hoped to write: "L'Attaché d'ambassade" and "Le Diplomate." Again, among the Balzacian *reliquae* published by J. Crepet, *Pensées, Sujets, Fragments*, p. 76, I found this theme: "Un vieux diplomate se servant de l'amour de son fils pour découvrir un secret d'État et se moquant de ses tortures."

While Balzac's *Comédie* was planned to compete with the register of the civil status of the French population, it seems to me that it includes even in its unfinished state so great a number of "diplomats" as to show that the novelist was particularly interested in "la Carrière." Or was this interest awakened by the diplomatic connections of Chateaubriand, Lamartine, and Stendhal among Balzac's literary peers?

After the Romantic period, French writers under the Second Empire and during the first decades of the Third Republic seem totally uninterested in diplomats as literary characters. For years, they were little concerned with anything outside France. I should therefore say, though standing open to correction, that diplomats only reappear in works of

¹⁶ *Modeste Mignon*, 1844, Conard edition, p. 297.

¹⁷ *Scènes de la vie privée*, III, Conard edition, p. 319. The editors, Bouteron and Longnon, suggest that Balzac may have been thinking of Metternich, Chateaubriand, and Talleyrand.

the imagination after the Third Republic became solidly established, and after the entrance examinations for the foreign service were recognized as opening "la Carrière" to young men from all classes, among whom were many from a nobility partially reconciled to the régime. The best-known French book picturing diplomatic life is *La Carrière* by Abel Hermant. And this droll novel in dialogue was not published until 1894, not to become famous until made into a comedy in 1897.

La Carrière, Hermant's title, betrays his intention to moralize, in the French sense, upon the diplomatic service of the Republic, as well as to sketch a "Scène de la Vie des Cours et des Ambassades," to quote the sub-title of his novel. It has for its setting France and a land resembling Austria-Hungary. Its plot, which stands out more prominently in Hermant's play-version, is the reconciliation of the Duc de Xaintrailles and his young wife by means of a promotion which separates the Duke from Lady Huxley-Stone, wife of the councilor of the British Embassy, and frees the Duchess from the attentions of the Archduke Paul. This intrigue conforms to the preconceived French conception of diplomacy, as phrased by a great Ambassador:

Pour le gros du public, la diplomatie n'est que l'intrigue, et quand un ambassadeur n'intrigue pas, il n'apparaît plus que comme un homme de plaisir, tout occupé de fêtes et de dîners.¹⁸

Hermant's characters are "typed," but they are not unfeeling puppets. His French Ambassador, the Marquis de Chameroy, "dont la nullité même est une puissance," owes his success to a wife who sees in diplomacy "le seul milieu où la fortune soit autre chose qu'un moyen de jouir, et la noblesse qu'une vanité" (p. 97). Chailly-Descombes, first secretary, has risen rapidly, connected as he is with some Radical deputies; a bachelor, "aucune tradition, pas des scrupules." As second secretary, a scion of a great family, the Duc de Xaintrailles, more British than a Briton (p. 87), is shown ever ready to flee Paris: "Pour moi, la diplomatie, c'était l'Émigration ... Il n'y a qu'à l'Étranger qu'on trouve une cour, des gens sachant dire Excellence ou Monsieur le Duc, une aristocratie, une étiquette, des pairs" (p. 14). Frécourt, the third secretary, is of bourgeois blood: "épris de la Carrière—je dirais presque pour lui: du Métier, parce qu'il se figure qu'un 3^e secrétaire d'ambassade remue le monde et rend des services à son pays. ... Mais il est commode," says his Chief, "il fait toute la grosse besogne" (p. 16). The attaché, Musigny, combines literary ambitions with the rôle of an arbiter of fashion and protocol:

¹⁸ Jules Cambon, *Le Diplomate* (Paris, 1926), p. 12.

Nous ne pouvons, si je puis dire, vivre qu'une vie cérémonielle. Et c'est pour cela que la Carrière est notre idéal, depuis qu'il est avéré que le rôle d'un diplomate est de faire des cérémonies et non des affaires. (p. 52)

Who are the French supernumeraries at this embassy? Le Vicomte de la Morvandièrre, "attaché autorisé" or probationer, is the official flirt of the staff. Charlet, "drogman" or interpreter, an ex-Consul at Rangoon who married an actress of the Comédie-Française, *naturally* does not know the language of the country (p. 109). Verneuil, a diplomatic courier, is capable of leaving his "bag" in the check-room of a frontier station in a spy-ridden land. It is a visiting attaché from Smyrna, nicknamed "Sabouraud IV," son of the Sabouraud of 1848 and great-grandson of a regicide (p. 162), who represents here the element of "la noblesse républicaine" to be found in the French foreign service. Thanks to his republican ancestors, Sabouraud, though a mere attaché, has enough power in Paris to remove ambassadors from their posts. This is his view of diplomatic life:

Le sang des géants révolutionnaires coule dans mes veines. Je me trouve odieusement à l'étroit parmi les mesquineries et les vulgarités de la vie parisienne. Et puis, vraiment, la société diplomatique est encore la seule où l'on puisse vivre, lorsque avec le goût du progrès on garde de l'attachement aux traditions. (p. 185)

Courts and fashions have changed since these pages were written through which move an Emperor and Empress, dukes, aides, and favorites, the dear colleagues of the diplomatic corps, a cynical spying police, journalists, and servants who duplicate the professional bent of their masters. Hermant conceived the idea of this book at Saint-Petersburg,¹⁹ and less exception can be taken to his psychology of French career diplomats in the '90's than to the exaggerated round of dissipation in which his characters are supposed to whirl. I have heard that this story was worked over into a film quite recently. How many ephemeral attempts have been made in France to picture or burlesque the diplomat, especially on the stage, it is naturally impossible to say.²⁰ "Like marriage, mothers-in-law and seasickness, diplomats are the butt of music-hall wit," said Daniele Varè. "This is all to the good. Laughter breeds good humor and is the best antidote to self-righteousness and rancour. Let the public laugh at our *chinoiseries*, and at a dilatoriness

¹⁹ Roger Peltier, *Abel Hermant, son œuvre* (Paris, 1924), p. 43.

²⁰ Cf. Scribe, *Le Diplomate*, 1827, a playlet wherein a French diplomat on a holiday triumphs over an Italian and a Spaniard who have state missions; Flers and Caillavet, *Le Roi*, 1908, with a clowning detective disguised as a diplomat; *Le Valet Maître*, by P. Armont and L. Marchand, a diplomatic bridge game, literally, in *Petite Illustration*, Mar. 12, 1938.

that gains time. Their laughter may help to delay a war. And a war delayed may be a war averted."²¹

A naval officer naturally becomes acquainted with the foreign representatives of his country, whether he is at the same time a writer or not. Readers who know Claude Farrère's *L'Homme qui assassina* (1907), written by a naval man, will agree that his Narcisse Boucher, French Ambassador at Constantinople, is no stereotyped character, any more than the personage of his military attaché, the hero of the novel. I presume that Farrère endowed his Ambassador with a fortune and a past which exceed all plausibility in order to avoid the appearance of having drawn a portrait from life:

C'est la personnalité la plus remarquable de Péra, le milliardaire français qui est le rival de Rockefeller. Fils de fermier, orphelin à dix ans, devient valet de charrue. A 20 ans, élève au Conservatoire, bientôt, premier prix de violon, mais trop rustre pour réussir dans les concerts. A 40 ans, il est industriel, négociant, financier: capable de renverser les ministères et terrorisant la Rente.

Au jour du fameux litige africain il tient suspendues sur l'Allemagne la faillite et la famine — c'est la paix imposée. Et Narcisse Boucher a bien conquis son titre d'ambassadeur, qu'ambitionnait sa vanité.

Nez juif, silhouette d'un pion de collège en retraite, voix rustaude, trivialité native qu'il exagère par une sorte d'ostentation. Nulle intelligence philosophique, point d'esprit géométrique, et pourtant quelle cervelle nette, balayée de mille poussières dont l'entendement humain est obscurci. Et d'ailleurs, le violon est là, pour tout envelopper, plus paradoxal que tout le reste. Narcisse Boucher, c'est, d'abord, un dilettante . . . Même, il n'a point de neveu, pour alourdir sa barque. Son Excellence parlait volontiers d'elle-même et rarement d'autre chose (p. 36).

Farrère's tale is peopled with foreign government agents of the extraterritorial era of the Ottoman Empire rather than with diplomats, but the novelist has loaded his plebeian Ambassador with the traits of vanity, envy, and selfishness which he had probably disliked in some French diplomatic officers of his acquaintance. The name "Narcisse Boucher" certainly stigmatizes its bearer with vanity and vulgarity, but Boucher is also shown to be envious of the titles and noble birth which he does not possess. He is even too impolite or too selfish to turn his carriage aside to help his military attaché to return to his lodgings.

In chronological sequence, I can now turn to Marcel Proust's diplomats, the well-known M. de Norpois, M. de Vaugoubert and his wife, and even the wife of a Turkish ambassador. A friend of Marcel's youth, Robert de Billy, himself a diplomat, traces Proust's interest in diplomatic life back to his father's activity as a member of several in-

²¹ D. Varè, *Laughing Diplomat* (New York, 1938), "Extracts from the Handbook of the Perfect Diplomat," p. 60.

ternational public health conferences.²² M. de Billy adds that Marcel even attended lectures at the École des Sciences Politiques. But Proust's other self, the hero of *A la Recherche du Temps Perdu*, decides against a diplomatic career which would take him from Paris.

It is the Marquis de Norpois who tells the boy's father that his son can win as much consideration as a writer as if he served in the embassies. Norpois, named in the first sentence of *A l'Ombre des Jeunes Filles en Fleurs*, published in 1919, is strictly speaking an ex-diplomat. He is only important now as a member of the Académie des Sciences Morales, whose last years are marked by a liaison with Mme de Villeparisis and a futile concern over affairs of state. It is presumptuous even to attempt a summary discussion of M. de Norpois; therefore I shall merely allude to his importance as a clinical subject for Proust's psychological analysis. Norpois is a beautiful case of professional deformation, and he is treated as such in all his appearances in Proust's narrative up to the second part of *Le Côté de Guermantes*. Perhaps the most noticed of Norpois' acquired characteristics are an aversion to all acts of opposition to the government, taciturnity, a vocabulary of diplomatic clichés, ceremonious manners, unflinching grace as a diner-out, and extreme punctuality as a correspondent.

Norpois is the character who first mentions a much younger ambassador in active service, the Marquis de Vaugoubert, then flushed with success over the "affinities" between two peoples which King Théodose had just toasted sensationally at a Paris state dinner.²³ In *Sodome et Gomorrhe*, II, pages 19–27, Marcel tells of seeing M. de Vaugoubert at the Guermantes residence and of his introduction to the Ambassadors. In society, the Ambassador looked like a caged animal, his personality split by vicious appetites which he had completely checked upon entering the Quai d'Orsay and by fear that his past would overtake him. And yet: "grâce à son parfait bon sens d'homme du monde, M. de Vaugoubert était un des meilleurs agents du Gouvernement français à l'étranger" (*ibid.*, p. 22). Yet because of the mediocrity of her husband, her corpulence, her high birth, and her masculine appearance, the Marquise was credited with eminent capacities and believed to be discharging the real functions of the Minister. We learn much later (in *La Prison-*

²² "Si Marcel avait eu assez de santé, il se serait probablement présenté aux Affaires étrangères. Son enfance et sa jeunesse avaient entendu parler de la Conférence sanitaire, de l'importance des rédactions, et des intrigues de couloir. On s'est quelquefois étonné de la façon dont il a décrit la vie diplomatique. Mais c'est la conversation de la table de famille qu'il a transposée. Norpois n'est pas plus un portrait que les autres personnages de son œuvre." R. de Billy, *Marcel Proust, lettres et conversations* (Paris, 1930), pp. 59–60.

²³ *A l'Ombre des Jeunes Filles*, I, 33–35.

nière, II, p. 59), that Vaugoubert gets forced into untimely retirement through his wife's presumptuousness. During a visit of Queen Eudoxie to Paris, the Ambadress ventured to monopolise the royal guest without arranging meetings with the President's wife and the wives of the cabinet ministers, thus straining her credit to the point of rupture.

The only diplomat on foreign station to be met in Proust's world is the Turkish Ambadress shown in embarrassed conversation with the Duc de Guermantes:

Elle était à cette époque peu reçue. Elle fréquentait quelques semaines des femmes tout à fait brillantes comme la duchesse de Guermantes, mais en général en était restée, par force, pour les familles très nobles, à des rameaux obscurs que les Guermantes ne fréquentaient plus. Elle espérait avoir l'air tout à fait du monde, en citant les plus grands noms de gens peu reçus qui étaient ses amis. Aussitôt M. de Guermantes frémissait joyeusement de se retrouver en pays de connaissance et poussait un cri de ralliement: "Mais c'est un cousin d'Oriane! Je le connais comme ma poche. Il demeure rue Vaneau. Sa mère était Mlle d'Uzès." L'ambassadrice était obligée d'avouer que son exemple était tiré d'animaux plus petits. Elle tâchait de rattacher ses amis à ceux de M. de Guermantes en rattrapant celui-ci de biais: "Je sais bien qui vous voulez dire. Non, ce n'est pas ceux-là, ce sont des cousins." Mais cette phrase de reflux jetée par la pauvre ambassadrice expirait bien vite. Car M. de Guermantes, désappointé, répondait: "Ah! alors, je ne vois pas qui vous voulez dire." L'ambassadrice ne répliquait rien, car si elle ne connaissait jamais que "les cousins" de ceux qu'il aurait fallu, bien souvent ces cousins n'étaient même pas parents...²⁴

Proust is certainly the most renowned French writer of the immediate post-war epoch, but Jean Giraudoux and Paul Morand displayed more varied abilities. Both of them were career diplomats and might have done a few portraits for a French gallery of diplomatists, but it is a fact that they have not done so. Their interest was arrested by the potentates of diplomacy rather than by the mere agents who execute policy. Thus Giraudoux was so undiplomatic as to risk the publication of two *romans à clé* revolving about the highest ministerial personalities. His *Bella*, 1926, brought into high relief the characters of R. Poincaré and Philippe Berthelot; *Combat avec l'Ange*, 1934, involves memories of Aristide Briand. I think there are only two or three glimpses of foreign service officers in all of Morand's fiction, and his diplomats are merely wall-flowers:

Au dîner, j'étais à côté de l'agent consulaire du Chili, un Chilien grand, plutôt beau, avec un œillet rose, un smoking, un sacré air ennuyeux d'homme du monde. Il a beaucoup voyagé. Comme tous les gens qui ont fait plusieurs fois le tour du globe, on ne peut lui tirer un mot.²⁵

²⁴ *Le Côté de Guermantes*, II, p. 198.

²⁵ *L'Europe galante*, 1925, "Les plaisirs rhénans," p. 55.

Beside this paragraph, I can only place a flash from a sort of Pathé news-reel found in *Bouddha Vivant* (1927). It shows diplomacy in action at the London Legation of "Karastra":

Des photographes et des journalistes. Au vestiaire, les chapeaux hauts de forme alignent leurs tuyaux luisants. Le corps diplomatique se fait présenter: on entend crier les souliers vernis. Buffet. Thé vert, sous le portrait agrandi du roi Indra et le plan du port de Karastra. Le Ministre attire Jâli dans une embrasure de fenêtre, ce confessionnal diplomatique, non pour lui montrer la file d'autobus, comme une barre rougie au feu, mais pour lui laisser entendre que le roi est malade, qu'il s'inquiète de son fils, quotidiennement, par télégramme. L'impression du Ministre est que Sa Majesté pardonnerait et désire surtout que le Prince Héritier ne renonce pas au trône (p. 117).

Ogden Webb and his determined wife, two of the Americans who have tragic rôles in Morand's *Champions du Monde* (1930), do not belong to diplomatic circles. This couple, struggling to negotiate a treaty of reconstruction for a war-wrenched Europe, forces the reader to glimpse beyond a fictional setting the spectre of an American President and the wife at his bedside.

The League of Nations is represented in my chapter by a story of its bureaux entitled *Sur le Quai Wilson*, published in 1926 by the Swiss journalist and gastronomer Marcel Rouff. This book has had small success, but I dwell a moment on it to note that Rouff has revived in the flesh for his reader a venerable French literary type, the Oriental envoy who serves as the author's mouthpiece. Here is a Swiss snapshot of Wah-Phon-Yang:

Vieux Céleste bien connu de toute l'Europe politique, quoique converti au christianisme, il était attaché à la Légation de la République chinoise à Londres. Sa philosophie souriante et désabusée, sa longue et profonde expérience, son intelligence rapide de Cantonnais lui avait réservé une situation spéciale à la S. D. N. On aimait à le consulter et, à défaut des conseils qu'aucun des délégués n'eût sollicités, on se plaisait à recueillir son opinion, toujours clairvoyante, bienveillante et élégamment exprimée (p. 135).

The best seller of 1927 was *Jérôme 60° latitude nord*, which won for Maurice Bedel the Goncourt Prize. This tale of travel displeased some Norwegians immensely. It is fair to add that Bedel spared no sarcasm in handling the character of M. de la Boudinière, first secretary of his own legation at Oslo. In a longish conversation with Jérôme, the hero, the diplomat's ignorance of cultural tendencies and contempt for the Norwegians is cruelly laid bare:

M. de la Boudinière ajusta son monocle, examina Jérôme, le trouva bien chaussé. Il le prit en sympathie.

—Alors, vous êtes auteur dramatique? Hé, que diable venez-vous faire dans ce pays?

Jérôme lui dit deux mots de *Littérature*, que cette pièce avait été jouée au Pigeonnier, que...

—Le Pigeonnier? Attendez donc, fit M. de la Boudinière, n'est-ce pas une petite scène où l'on joue de temps à autre d'aimables loufoqueries?

—Oui, dit Jérôme, de Vildrac, de Romaines...

—Connais pas. Vous savez, moi, les mêtèques... Il fit un geste qui signifiait qu'il ne pouvait les sentir.

—Et, poursuivit-il, vous pensez donner votre comédie à Christiana?

—Au Théâtre National.

—Fichtre! Mais asseyez-vous donc.

—“Cet ignorant, pensait Jérôme, peut m'être utile. Je dois le ménager.” Il crut le flatter en lui faisant des compliments sur le pays où ce diplomate représentait la France.

—La Norvège? interrompit M. de la Boudinière. Vous en déchantez bien vite: pas de Cour, pas de société. Le roi vit en famille. Personne ne reçoit.

—Je veux parler des beautés naturelles du pays: ces montagnes, ces lacs, ces forêts...

—Oui, j'en ai entendu dire du bien par mes collègues de la légation britannique. L'un d'eux ne va-t-il pas jusqu'à parcourir les environs chaussé de ces lames de bois qui font fureur ici! Il faut convenir que les Britanniques n'ont pas le sens du ridicule. Quand vous aurez vu les femmes se montrer en public affublées de ces instruments-là, nous reparlerons des beautés naturelles de la Norvège (pp. 62-63).

After this sketch of M. de la Boudinière, I have no more to say about French diplomats in imaginative literature. To be sure, in the last years of the Third Republic, Jules Romaines brought into *Les Pouvoirs* (1935), Vol. X of *Les Hommes de Bonne Volonté*, a certain François Courson, sous-directeur des affaires politiques on the Quai d'Orsay. In Romaines' narrative, this official's conscience is troubled by his discovery of secret negotiations with Germany over the Agadir incident. Courson is not the kind of diplomat that we are looking for, nor is the character Rumelles, a “diplomat” found in the *Épilogue* (8^e et dernière partie, 1940), to R. Martin Du Gard's *Les Thibault*. It is Rumelles, mobilized at the Quai d'Orsay, who gets Jenny a passport to investigate in Geneva the circumstances of Jacques' death on a peace flight over the two fronts. The account of Antoine's dinner at Maxim's with Rumelles will be found on pages 64-80 of *L'Épilogue*. Both Courson and Rumelles are normal and credible; the latter, shown as nervous and worn by the crises of 1917, is a very convincing character.

The findings of my gratified curiosity can only be summed up on a

note of amused disappointment. I have found less than a dozen French diplomats who could be fairly counted among writers. In the earlier period, a few writers were given sinecures abroad or proffered a gold-braided political exile, as in the case of Chateaubriand and Victor Hugo. Later, an organized foreign service afforded a younger generation the security which developed the latent literary gifts of a Claudel and his successors. Among the *dramatis personae* of works of the French imagination, diplomats are scarce and usually play minor parts. They are generally presented as figures in Society at home and rarely shown in the discharge of their functions abroad. Few of them are portrayed with sympathy. In some cases, as in sub-literary farce and fiction, characters are merely labelled "diplomats" to provide them with a plausible livelihood and sufficient leisure for the needs of a writer's plot. All in all, diplomatic life seems too remote for the comprehension of French men of letters, and for the diplomat who writes, a dangerous or unattractive theme. Thus the diplomat in French literature tends to be typed as a drawing-room psychologist, engrossed in love affairs, one of a clan of unattractive and politely bored cosmopolitans. It is evident from the illustrative quotations in this chapter that the usual function of diplomats in modern French literature is to amuse. Seldom do they reveal perspectives and directions in the realm of diplomacy as an instrument of state.²⁶

²⁶ The writing of this chapter has placed me under further obligations to Messrs. Fernand Baldensperger, J.-A. Bédé, Gustave Charlier, Roger Gaucheron, and Léon Lemonnier.

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